Coventry enjoy their Villa Park outing

Jeremy Alexander

EMBLEY would give a lot for weather on May 16 like last Saturday's. On current showing it would not mind Coventry, too, for the Cup final. The Sky Blues are playing on cloud nine, Villa simply under a cloud - which is why Coventry, at the 27th attempt, won at Villa Park for the first time. It has taken 62 years. Just now they believe in themselves more than hondoos.

Coventry's Cup record since they won it in 1987 has also been wretched. They are normally out before the crocuses, let alone the daffodils. This will be their first quarter-final for 11 years, and they have reached it with first-time victories over Liverpool, Derby and Villa, the first and last of them away.

The Eton Boating Song is their traditional signature tune and they all pulled together for Gordon Strachan, the touchline cox whose passion brought a referee's rebuke for overstepping his territory. By contrast Brian Little stood pensive and inflexible in his winter waterproofs and Savo Milosevic was not i

Last Sunday, the chairman Doug Ellis said his door is open to the discontented Yugoslav, who has not played for a month. Little could do with peacemaking — without Dwight Yorke, he was virtually obliged to stick with Stan Collymore, not that he has shown sign of

dropping him anyway.
What started as faith in his ability to get the best from a wayward tal-

Villain of the piece . . . Gareth Southgate gets to grips with Coventry's Darren Huckerby during the

ent is looking like self-defeating obstinacy. In 30 starts Collymore, all \$10.5 million of Villa's record buy, has scored five goals, none significant. An advert for Villa's sponsors shows him standing over a PC with the legend 'The quietest in the

His unconcern at losing posses- and Ugo Ehiogu before drawing sion was almost defiant and ultimately fatal. After 70 minutes his Bosnich. The ball ran to Viorel luose first touch set Coventry off Moldovan, Coventry's record buy at again on a move which ended with George Boateng — a snip at \$375,000 - cutting in from the right past Alan Wright, Gareth Southgate

\$5 million, who tapped in his first Villa could have been four down

pion, then Julian Joachim drag off the line. Solvedt and Both were conspicuous in support their front two and Strachars Gavin, making his first start in the ally a reserve midfield, continue fully. Dion Dublin was natural a the heart of it - at both endgoing into defence when Molion came on for Richard Shaw.

Bosnich denied him with a halfer-

In World Cup terms the Rome ian will have noted how Souther was discomforted by Dublin in the air and by Darren Huckerby's page Villa, newly aligned in 442 or have used a sweeper, but little thinking rigidly under present. The team reflected their boss, a Coventry did theirs: the one to dictable, the other perky.
Strachan said of Moldovar: 184

been getting a little bit twitchyc the bench. He's concerned he wat be able to impress the Romaic coach in our reserves. But he's telligent, and he understands a front two have been playing out! their skins."

Little was late for his pas conference, but honest when be arrived. "Coventry were betterth is," he said, "Without Bosnid could have been a lot more the

Southgate said: "When you a going through a bad time, you ki at each other and pick things upgether." They got no further E can look to Wembley and the lay of jolly boating weather.

Sixth-round draw: Arsenalor Crystal Palace v West Ham or Blackburn Rovers; Coventry City: Shellield United; Leeds Unitedy Wimbledon or Wolverhampton!" Newcastle United v Manchester

backs ample opportunity to

Andy Kenst, Quins' coarb,

said the supremacy of the hour pack was decisive. "We played

well for 25 minutes but then

After 16 minutes the prop

Paul Van-Zandviict was held w

on the Quins' line, and from

ensuing scrum Newcastle for

wards almost drove over three

scored the opening try. But the three tries in that

glorious spell before the inter-

finished the contest. The first

led the ball was quickly reco

times before the wing Jim Nat

their power took over."

TheGuardian

Weekly

strillied dend unlimitation of the strillialine.

Clinton puts Iraq on trial over deal

Martin Kettle in Washington, lan Black in London and Julian Borger in Baghdad

HE United States on Monday gave its tentative approval to a deal with Iraq struck by the United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, but insisted that the use of force would be automatic if Saddam Hussein again obstructed veapons inspectors.

President Clinton, backed by his ally Tony Blair, said that US acceptance of the agreement was conditional upon the full implementation of UN resolutions.

"I hope today's agreement will prove to be the step forward that we have been looking for," he said in a broadcast from the Oval Office at he White House. "But the proof is in the testing."

Mr Clinton described the agreement secured by Mr Annan at the weekend as "a written commitment to provide immediate, unrestricted and unconditional access to the Unscom [United Nations special commission] weapons inspectors to all suspect sites in Iraq". There would be repeat visits to the sites and no deadlines, he added.

Mr Annan was set to present the deal to the full UN Security Council on Tuesday. He expressed confidence that the agreement would win international backing.

Mr Annan believes he obtained infettered access to suspected weapons sites by offering Iraq a vaguely-worded promise of "light at the end of the tunnel" - accelerated inspections leading to the eventual lifting of sanctions.

The accord which we have just signed is quite sound and, even if there are discussions at the Security Council I do not expect they will be too tough, but you never know," he

Mr Clinton said: "All Americans should have a positive reaction to the fact that we have a commitment. If fully implemented — and that is the big if - this commitment will allow Unscom to fulfil its mission." Claiming that his threats of mili-

ity of the deal were growing.

Kofi Annan, UN secretary-general (left), and Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, sign the agreement

achieving the diplomatic outcome, he said: "Once again we have seen that diplomacy must be backed by strength and resolve."

He made it clear that US troops would remain in the Gulf region "In force" to ensure that Iraq carried out its side of the agreement. "I intend to keep our forces at high levels of preparation," he said.

Mr Clinton stressed that his acceptance of the deal was not unconditional, saying: "There are issues that still need to be clarified to our satisfaction and details that need to be worked over."

Later, however, he told a quesioner: "My instinct is that we can resolve those things to our satisfac

The US president revealed that he had agreed that senior diplomats appointed by Mr Annan would acompany the Unscom inspectors to the eight disputed presidential

palaces which were the source of the confrontation. "What really matters is Iraq's compliance," he said. "Not what it says but what it does." But even before Mr Annan left Bayhdad doubts about the durabil-

The state-run traqi News Agency trumpeted an Iraqi victory and claimed that the presidential sites at the heart of the crisis could only be inspected under specific criteria.

But speaking in Paris, on his way back to the UN in New York, Mr Annari said: "President Saddam and the Iraqi government accept that we can visit all eight palaces. Tomor-

Mr Annan said there were "no time limits or deadlines" in the agreement, but added: "I think it is important that we do our work in a reasonable period." Mr Clinton consulted Mr Blair

and the French president, Jacques Chirac, with the two agreeing to implement the accord as soon as possiple. He also planned to speak to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia. Mr Blair said: "It is absolutely essential that we are not back in this

position in a few weeks' or a few months' time." And he confirmed that Britain would be seeking a tough, new Se-curity Council resolution giving the

It is essential we are not back in this position in a few

weeks' or months' time - Tony Blair

UN the right to respond "by whatever means necessary" if the Iraqi dictator broke his word. I think what is very very important is that we have this new resolution that makes it absolutely clear we are not going out into some long drawn out diplomatic game again," he said.

Reaction aillong ordinary Iraqis to the deal was muted, with many

saying they would reserve rejoicing for the day sanctions imposed after Irao's 1990 invasion of Kuwait are Comment, page 12 ended. Washington Post, page 13

Leaders of the exiled Iraqi opposi tion, who were dealt a blow by the deal, said on Monday that President Saddam had outfoxed Washington in the crisis. The deal would only prolong the suffering of the Iraqi people, they added.

"The United States has made serious miscalculations twice - once in 1991 when they didn't finish Saddam, and now because they strongly and wrongly believed that Saddam would not back down. He surprised them and climbed down, said Wafiq Samoraei, the London based former head of Iraqi military intelligence. "We have to admit that Saddam Hussein has achieved a victory which we hope will be tempo ary," he said.

Speaking at a press conference with Mr Annan, Iraq's deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, who signed the accord, flercely denied that the 11th-hour deal amounted to a climbdown in the face of threats to use

"It was diplomacy. Wise, balanced United Nations world diplomacy that enabled us to reach this agreement. Not sabre-rattling," he said. Mr Annan responded: "You can do a lot with diplomacy, but of course you can do a lot more with diplomacy backed up with firmness

and force." The remark was widely seen as a nod towards the build-up of US forces in the Gulf.

Washington Diary, page 6

Middle East has no cause to rejoice

OPINION Martin Woollacott

HE great wave of relief which circled the globe on Monday as t became clear that Kofi Annan had managed a deal with Saddam Hussein to avert an American attack on Iraq ought to have been followed by a great wave of shaine. The deal has een done with a uniquely evil man, it gives him much of what he wants and it probably consigns the Iraqi people to many more years under the most deprayed of dictatorships It may not even head off bombing, which could still happen, sooner or later. It will have profoundly dangerons effects in the Middle Fast, among other things probably setting off a more intense regional race to acquire weapons of mass destruc-

This is not to say that an American attack, if it had come or if it still comes, would not have the same or worse results. Assuming the bombs do not fall, we will have avoided : bad war only in order to make a bad peace. All the powers concerned bear a share of the blame for the failures and mistakes which, over the years, led inexorably to a situation where the world was faced with the dismal choice between the two.

The United States was at the same time over-ambitious in its Middle Eastern objectives and lacking in will and competence in carrying them out. It proposed to contain both Iraq and Iran, but succeeded in containing neither. It proposed to change the regime in Iraq, but vitiated this by its preference for a military success. It proposed to bring about a peace settlement between Israelis and Palestinians, but has continued on page 3

Famine stalks Ethiopia again

Indonesia façes desperate times

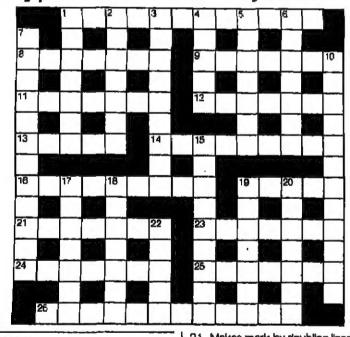
Freemasons told to name names

Big bang, big argument

19 Summit focus on jobs for all

Methe 60a Netherlands G 5 Austria AS30 Belgium BF80 Denmark DK17 Norway NK 16 Portugal E300 Saudi Arabia SR 6.50 Finland France DM 4 Greece: DFI 500

Cryptic crossword by Janus



Across

- make it (4.8)
- 8 Essayist on the ball in bed perhaps (7)
- 9 The forerunner of that (7) 11 Original character (7) 12 Mail delivered in answer to pop
- group (7) 13 Sulphur found in openings for air-intakes (5)
- 14 The most able 150 get to the summit (9)
- 16 Asset possibly involving danger to stars (9) 19 Saucy-sounding painter (5)
- 21 Makes mark by doubling lines on pitch (7) Strong board may be needed to | 23 Ship that will take the motorist's
 - luggage? (7) 24 Bird's egg in roll (7) 25 Order lone revolutionary to
 - infiltrate military group (7) 26 Features of some British cars abroad (7,5)

- Materials produced if crabs are crushed (7)
- 2 Jests at mass meetings (7) 3 Protective measures for lifeless hair? (9)

- 5 Unfruitful rest perhaps on French Island (7) 6 Perform in theatre works by
- Lawrence (7)
- nimble-wilted? (4,8)
- outside London area (9) 17 He painted "Bond, the Explore
- 18 Tore set apart as a tayour (7) 19 Dog-trumpet singer found (7)
- 22 Shoot a young person (5)

FAIRTOMIDDLING
LEMERA DU YVOOL
APPRAISAL RADII
GEED SCII OST
LEAVE AGINCOURT
IZCES CEES BL
EPHEMERA BLITHE U SE AR E BROCC THORNY BEQUEATH E C BR N I S I NOTATHING SISAL A O R THE I E D

Last week's solution

4 Pin sald to be for a surplice (5)

7 UFO appearing in the kitchen perhaps (6,6) 10 Lenten meditations for the

15 Quarter given to Oriental chap

20 Sulla aspiring to half-pay as a

ill-effects. revolution undertaken at

> Once the home pack had taken control, the visitors were blitzed in a first-half display that saw 31 points rattled up, includ ing three tries in five minutes ust before the interval. Quina' first-half reply was a Rob Liley

Rugby Union Newcastle 43 Harlequins 15

Newcastle hit top form

Michael Prestage

I EWCASTLE regained their V position at the top of the Premiership table, so presum tuously taken by Saracens last Saturday, with a six-try display that swept aside Harlequins and left no doubt who the champions apparent are halfway through the

Newcastle's coach Steve Bates described the difficulty in preparing eight players mentally drained after international matches the previous weekend. but it was difficult to discern any

Two years ago Quins won this fixture. It is a measure of the Newcastle that they are in a different class from the Londoners.

came when a poor kick by Quins' full-back Jim Staplet of returned with interest. When the tary action had been instrumental in flanker Pat Lam was finally Austin FULF WAR



Minutes later, when w Luger was caught in his in the area he conceded a five men scrum, and Newcastle's capta Dean Ryan had a simple pushover try. On the stroked half-time Alan Tait kept the scoreboard ticking over. Early in the second half Underwood added his second Newcastle began slowly and but for a series of dropped try to increase the lead, Twi passes which thwarted Quine' tries by Quins just before the ttacking ambitions the visitors hour were a mere blip in pr night have anatched an early ceedings. Newcastle spent be final quarter laying sleet unit Quiris line before Martin lead. With the Newcastle line-out secure and the pack scrummaging well the forwards' irresisscored on the stroke of im tible driving rugby gave the © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1998. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deanagate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek, Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

The Week

white society.

THE head of Australia's

Anglican Church symboli-

cally washed the feet of two in-

apologised to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders for the

church's role in the practice

HE Spanish government

plan by mainstream Basque

nationalists to bring about a

negotiated end to the separatist

group ETA's 30-year campaign

of violence. Le Monde, page 17

gave guarded backing to a

under which Aborginal children

were removed from their fami-

lies for forcible assimilation into

digenous bishops and formally

Only Saddam will benefit from air strikes on Iraq

States and its allies are again conveniently ignoring the fact that unilateral military action is contrary to the United Nations charter and illegal under international law.

What do they think air strikes on lraq will achieve?

Any attack is likely to consolidate support within Iraq for Saddam and will be unlikely to force him to comply with UN directives. Any further weapons inspections after military action seem unlikely so, once again, violence will have achieved little.

We all agree that Saddam is a power-hungry, heartless dictator, but there are others as ruthless as him. The problem many of us have is how the West decides which dictators should be supplied with arms, and traded with, and which should

Why, for example, did the West condone Indonesia's invasion of East Timor and the genocide that followed, and yet choose to move at lightning speed, rightfully, to repulse Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?

It is completely unacceptable for Iraq to harbour any means of mass destruction, and it seems unbelievable that after seven long years these weapons have not been accounted for. It is also wrong for the UN to turn a blind eye to the nuclear weapons acquired by Israel - an equal threat to peace in the region.

As always it is the civilians, especially children, who suffer most in times of conflict and trade sanctions. The statistics are horrifying. According to Unicef, between August 1990 and August 1997, 1,211,000 children died of embargorelated causes. We in New Zealand should be mindful of the leading

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■ T WOULD seem that the United | role we played in determining those same sanctions. The bombardment of Iraq during "Desert Storm" killed an estimated 150,000 more children and devastated Iraq's water, power and sewerage systems. A 1991 UN report described Iraq as "a country bombed back to a pre-industria

The UN has made a mockery of its own Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The hypocrisy is

sickening.
It is futile to place the blame on Saddam, harping on and on that if he were to conform, these deaths could have been avoided. The hard facts are that Iraq is a military dictatorship with a woeful human rights record of its own. Saddam's army is in full control. Dissent equals death. What exactly are the people to do? Taupo, New Zeoland

WHY strike Baghdad, and why now? Yes, Iraq has used and threatened to use weapons of mass lestruction, but so have the United States and others. Saddam Hussein's record is one of carefully calculated reason (as when he was deterred from using such weapons during the Gulf war). Yes, Saddam is a murderous thug, but so is Syria's Assad, Israel's Sharon and all too many others in the region.

Saddam's attempts to circumven UN resolutions is said to justify murderous air strikes (by a power that arrogates all rights of interpretation and judgment), while others' similarly condenned occupations (Syria's of Lebanon's Bekaa valley and Israel's of the Gaza, West Bank and Golan) remain unthreatened

2 years

Tick box if this is a renewal order 🔲

.......Card explry date..

The partisan and selective appli-cation of "law" offends the very notion of law. Law must be generic and impartial, at least in principle, and not based on whim, personal need or spite. Applying laws only to "them" and not "us" smacks of what we rightly accuse Saddam of. The new world order looks very old in

(Prof) Carl G Jacobson,

THE majority of Arab states were persuaded to join the anti-Iraq coalition in 1991 by the promise of a new world order in which the Palestinians would be liberated from occupation. With the Oslo peace process now ground to a halt, there is no Arab support for renewed attacks on Baghdad. Tony Blair's support of the American hard line can only discredit Britain's standing in

this region. Robin Yassin-Kassab, Jed Williams. Damascus, Syria

Labour pains at the euro's birth

A TTEMPTS by Messrs Brittan, Santer and de Silguy to re-open the argument about Britain's participation in the single European currency are interpreted by Martin Walker as evidence of their wanting the atrong pound to join in order to buttress the euro (February 8).

These gentlemen, I believe, are worried that 1) the euro, introduced at a high rate of interest, governed by strict German stability criteria, and managed by the Bundesbank like European Central Bank in Frankfurt, will, on the contrary, be very attractive to investors and thus as strong as, if not stronger than, the deutschmark; 2) this will make exports from all the European Union countries more expensive and thus less competitive on the The Guardian world, and British, markets; and 3) combined with the high interest rate, this will only put more people out of work in those very countries where unemployment has already reached politically explosive propor-Subscribe to Britain's best

No. Britain would be well advised to walt and see. Maybe, once the euro is born and bought, and the British pound reverts to a more export-friendly level, British exporters will be rejoicing while their eurocompetitors can only gnash their teeth and curse the day the single currency was conceived.

Hamburg, Germany

Learn to grow old gracefully

R ROBIN HOLLIDAY (Februto) takes the kadiord to task for overemphasising the role of dividing cells in ageing. He is right and wrong. The enigma of ageing is that it is a multifactoral process. As in cars with built-in obsolescence, all systems fail at about the same time.

The problem in ageing is deviation from the "steady-state". This means both the loss of structures that are not replaced (such as telomere ends as emphasised by Radford), and the accumulation of components that are not removed, such as age pigments in non-dividing cells (emphasised by Holliday). The evidence favours both mechan-

Extracellular processes, too, paricipate in the ageing process These include cholesterol transport with consequent loss of vitality, and the cross-linking of collagen and proteins of the lens of the eye. These accumulations produce the shortness of breath, peering gaze, loss of flexibility, creaking joints, and the wrinkled, flaccid skin that await most of us.

Science will be able to slow some of these events. Meanwhile we had better learn to wear these badges of survival proudly, and respect them others. The only way to avoid them is to die young. Allan Davison,

Vancouver, Canada

Students denied their birthright

Donald MacLEOD, describing the possible funding crisis facing British universities (February 15), states that "foreign students have in effect been subsidising their British classmates".

But, as we have recently discovered, British students resident abroad who are classified as foreign by the Government are also subsidising their British classmates. Our daughter, who has had her secondary and undergraduate university education in New Zealand and who has been offered a postgraduate place in Britain, is required to produce a guarantee signed by our solicitor that she has the funds to complete the course for which she has been accepted.

This invidious distinction tween British students on the basis of parental residence is both discriminatory and short-sighted. It does little to encourage such students to regard themselves as the British citizens that in fact they are. Penelope Kempthorne, Nelson, New Zealand

All work makes Jack worried

ENJOYED Maurcen Freely's arti-I cle (British feminists make their mark, January 11). However, I am disappointed that the current wave of feminists have not taken a more holistic view. Freely says, "No one is pretending there is a huge male interest in the politics of the life/work balance at present", and suggests society had better watch out for these new feminists who "are far more radical than their predecessors".

This ignores the growing debate about the conflict between being a worthwhile human being and competing in the world of business. For example, Charles Handy's latest book The Hungry Spirit is subtitled, "Beyond Capitalism, a quest for pur-pose in the modern world". Men are sand, nine hundred and one." just as concerned as women about | Sue Sulley, their way of life. After all, most are committed to being the breadwin ner of last resort for the family - in other words, work is the means to the end of supporting the family. Surely women and men together should be questioning the current way of life, and challenging the accepted norms of the work place.

Present norms could be regarded as a conspiracy by Big Business. In reality most women and men are family people at heart, not the yuppies in their 20s profiled as the role model by advertising. Roger Hodgson Kathmandu, Nepal

Briefly

ORMAN STONE'S review of Michael Ignatieff's The War rior's Honour (State of the nation February 15) displays the kind of casual ignorance that seems union tunately typical of Brits witing about Canadian matters. "Eskima" and in particular "Red Indian", are terms from antiquated children adventure stories that less good humoured folk would consider of fensive rather than just risible.

Aboriginal Canadians constitute peoples, not "tribes". Would the Scots appreciate being referred to as a tribe? But more important the "misdeeds" for which the Canadian government recently, and belately, apologised to its aboriginal citizens were not committed "centuries ago"; many of the victims are not only still alive, but still in only their middle years. Nigel H Richardson. Toronto, Ontario, Canada

CTEPHEN BATES reports from Brussels that English is the most commonly taught language in Europe (February 22). Looking just at Europe, this fact would indeed be difficult to reconcile with Britsh's modest size, peripheral location and her relatively limited role in Enrope's history, trade, and affairs.

What students all over Europe (and around the world) are learning is American, not English. Even it most of European teachers still sick to RP as their canon of pronunciation, the demand for English has nothing to do with Britain. It is generated by American dominance in politics, commerce, science and popular culture. W H Trzaska

T WAS disappointing to hear Elaine Showalter cheering Natasha Walter's discovery of Margaret Thatcher as "the great unsung heroine of British feminism (Femme de siècle, February 8). Should we celebrate power without regard to its use? Feminism then would seem simply to affirm the myths it hoped to contest. I'm of the same generation as Walter, but I can't think of any of my contemporaries who could identify with this "new dawn" of made-it feminism. Eleanor Porter. Hong Kong

WHEN and by whom was it de-cided that the new century would be referred to as "two thorsand" and not "twenty hundred" and thereafter just "twenty"? In three years' time, should we not be in the year "twenty O one"? We don't say the Battle of Hastings took place in "one thousand and sixty six" or that Queen Victoria died in "one thou

The Guardian

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Hindu nationalists in fury over 'coup'

Suzanne Goldenberg in Sambhal, northern India watch on the banks of the Ganges, and soldiers trained Jeep-mounted machine-guns along deserted roads in the badlands of north India on Monday, in the second round of the country's general elections.

Eight people were killed in poll clashes, six in the state of Bihar. But the violence - on a relatively modest scale for Bihar - was eclipsed by developments in neighbouring Ultar Pradesh last Saturday, when the state government of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BIP) was felled in a political coup.

In Sambhal, the local preserve of the Hindu nationalists' most formidable enemy, infuriated BJP supporters hurled bricks from rooftops

Florida hit by

↑ T LEAST 39 people were

200mph tornadoes carved an

destruction across the Orlando

region in central Florida, uproot-

ehicles, writes Martin Kettle

11-mile swath of death and

og hundreds of homes and

in Washington.
The 12 tornadoes, which

henomenon in the Pacific

ocean. The twisters carved a

struck in the early hours, were

attributed to the El Niño weather

route around the city of Orlando.

"It is the greatest loss of life

from a tornadic event in Florida

history," said Jim Lushine, a

Fields were littered with the

homes. Mobile homes, of which

there are thousands in the area,

remains of roofs ripped from

"Some people slept right

through it. They woke up and

their house was gone," said a

ounty sheriff's office.

spokeswoman for the Seminole

But the tornadoes missed the

area's major tourist attractions,

including the Wait Disney World

and Universal Studios theme

which is visited by millions of

tourists each year.

Miami meteorologist.

bore the brunt.

killed on Monday as

tornadoes

tions. Polling was interrupted at several booths after party agents came to blows.

The government collapsed after its allies - who had defected from their own parties only months earlier - walked out of the coalition. Within hours, the state governor swore in a rebel government, outraging the BJP's prime ministerial candidate, Atal Bihar Vajpayee. Mr Vajpayee threatened to starve

himself to death in protest against "a midnight conspiracy to influence voting in the state". But he was able to call off his hunger strike after the high court in Allahabad overruled the dismissal on Monday. However, the court said the reinstated chief minister, Kalyan Singh, may still have to undergo a confidence test in the state legislature later this week.

feat of the Samajwadi party leader that they hared away a local strongman, D P Yadav (no relation), who The past five years have seen inhas been implicated in several seri- | announced

prime minister.

merly "Untouchables") lined up

against the BJP. Although some in Sambhal mourned the BJP's fall, it

was cause for celebration for sup-

porters of its main local foe, the

leader of the Samajwadi party,

Mr Yadav, a former wrestler, was

defence minister in the outgoing

United Front government. These

elections are widely expected to

produce a fractured verdict and, if

the numbers favour the United

Front, he would be a contender for

Mulayam Singh Yaday.

to stop rivals reaching polling sta- | tense polarisation in Uttar Pradesh, | ous crimes and was for many years with Muslims, lower-caste Hindus in the service of the Samajwadi - including the politically ascenparty leader. dant Yadav caste - and Dalits (for-Anticipating a showdown, the ad

ministration had sealed all routes to Sambhal and posted guards on the Ganges. Hundreds of border and paramilitary forces were put on standby, and bureaucrats with swagger sticks patrolled with truckloads of riot police.
Candidates were forbidden to

travel with the entourages that are de rigueur in this machismo-ruled, sugar-cane-growing area.

In all but a few constituencies, the final day of polling is February 28, and counting is due to begin two days later.

But voting in Kashmir — disputed by India and Pakistan — and So hungry was the BIP for the desnow-bound Himalayan regions will

R JEFFERSON is the calf that could make history. The 45kg

Holstein was born on February 16

- President's Day in the United

HE United States Holocaust Memorial Museum forced its director, Walter Reich, to resign, ending an acrimonious tenure that was highlighted by an embarrassing invitation to the Palestinian Authority president, Yusser Arafat.

PILOT failure to follow the flight plan was the main reason a United States Marine jet severed a ski gondola cable. sending 20 people to their deaths, according to an Italian air force investigation.

near Algiers, killing 18 people and injuring 25 in a new wave of attacks blamed on Muslim miliants, state radio reported.

egg and nucleus with a little burst of electricity, and then popped the now fertilised egg into a surrogate Mr Jefferson is a test animal for a grade anthrax", as they had suggested, but harmless vaccine.

new kind of pharmaceutical farming, in which genetically-engineered or transgenic animals will be "pharmed" to make high-cost, difficult-to-obtain human proteins to save thousands of lives.

There are genetically engineered cloned lambs called Polly and Molly, unveiled just before Christ-mas at Roslin, whose milk will provide a blood-clotting factor vital fo one group of haemonhiliacs.

But sheep are not as useful, a they produce only small quantities

States - at a veterinary college in Virginia: cloned from a line of foetal cells preserved in a laboratory. Mr Jefferson was produced by scientists of PPL Therapeutics, an A BOMB exploded under a crowded commuter train American subsidiary of the firm based at Roslin in Scotland, home of Dolly the cloned sheep. They transferred the foetal DNA into an "empty" cow's egg, fused the

Bl agents admitted that the substance found on two scientists in a Las Vegas suburb ast month was not "militar;

HE trial of three men accused of murdering the award-winning Cambodian actor Haing Ngor began in Los Angeles.

WO British photographers got jail sentences in Los Angeles for harassing Hollywood star Arnold Schwarzeneggar and his wife Maria Shriver.

SRAELI planes launched 16 strikes and fired nearly 40 rockets at Hizbullah guerrilias in southern Lebanon last Sunday, security sources said.

HE Danish prime minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, called a general election on March 11 - six months ahead of the government's deadline.

HE United Nationa launched an appeal for \$109 million of aid to Sudan, where drought is exacerbating problems caused by 14 years of civil war.

G EORGIAN president Eduard Shevardnadze offered to negotiate with the political representatives of hostage-takers who have been holding three United Nations personnel



Iraq: no cause to rejoice

not tried hard enough to achieve one. It held out the hope that, with transformed, but this has not hap-pened. It proposed, in other words, a new political and economic order in the region but laid no foundations

Even though their criticisms of Washington thus had genuine substance, Russia, France, and others who diverged over Middle Eastern policy were guilty of a desire to con-found the United States just because it was the United States, as well as of patent greed for the trade and oil deals Saddam has been dangling before them.

to survive and which inclined many ordinary Arabs to support him. Arab governments, caught between European help, the economic land-scape of the Middle East would be once seemed to promise, and the cation and passivity, in that all of them desired the fall of Saddam, but none would ever say so or do much that was significant to bring it about. Finally, a segment of Western public opinion has concentrated, with a certain emotional wilfulness, on the harm inflicted on Iraqis by sanctions, or threatened by American bombs, while paying no attention to

With skill and some guile, Kofi Annan has exacted compliance in

Iraqls may, on paper; have retreated, in every other way they have gained. Sanctions are already half diamantled, and an end to them implicitly promised. There is "light at the end of the tunnel" for Sadanger apparent on the streets of dam, if he is wise enough to avoid their capitals, were guilty of prevariblatant cheating for the next few more serious Iraqi threat, will be months. What we are watching i the terrible spectacle of his rehabilitation. One of the worst aspects of this week's bargain is that it makes it even more unlikely that policies such as recognising an Iraqi govern-ment in exile, indicting Saddam, or declaring no-drive zones in northern and southern Iraq will ever be iaken up. The US has suffered a serious dethe long-term crisis of the region.

guidelines which, however defec-Israel contributed hugely to the principle from the Iraqis and, by tive, were familiar and held in compublicity endorsing the accord, has mon. While the US will not cease to Purpose in which Saddam was able | created a situation in which it would | be a power in the area; there will be | there should be no rejoicing.

other than accept it. But while the ing results. Is it not possible, for instance, that Iran, which fears and hates Saddam, will now assign a higher priority to its own programmes both for weapons of mass destruction and for subversive efforts in Iraq? Is it not probable that fortified in his obstruction of genuine negotiations with the Pales-

be hard for the Americans to do | reactions that could have frighten-

Would it be surprising if Turkey should start bargaining with Saddam over a settlement of what Ankara sees as the chaotic situation in northern Iraq? Might it not be imderstandable if the Iraqi Kurda felt they had to come to terms with Baghdad? Might not the US itself feat and the region has lost a set of lose heart and either turn away or engage in risky adventures?

There may be relief at the apparent success of Annan's mission, but

Ethiopia faces new famine threat

Jonathan Steele in Addis Ababa

ROM the air the highlands of Tigray look as beige as sand.
The forests have disappeared from the mountainsides, cut down by farmers looking in increasingly marginal areas for land to plough. In the lowlands there is no water on the meandering riverbeds to catch

The detail of disaster comes into full view on the ground.

"In half of this area conditions are as bad as the great famine of 1985. In the other half they are only slightly better," says Haile Mariam Haftu, head of the regional council in Samre in southern Tigray. "About 80 per cent of the district's 97,000 people need food aid and so far only 13,000 have got it."

In Mekele, the regional capital, senior officials of the Relief Society of Tigray confirm that Ethiopia's harvest has been the worst since the military regime of the Dergue collapsed in 1991. Experts from the United Nations World Food Programme share that assessment.

Although they differ on the exact numbers in need, and for how long relief will be needed, both sides agree that Ethiopia requires a minimum of 420,000 tonnes of food for at | shocked the world in 1985 will not | culture since 1991, ranging from east 5 million people in Tigray and | recur. "A famine like 1985 is Imposthe other northern regions. The huge food deficit comes two years after the government boasted that Ethiopia had reached self-suificiency and celebrated by exporting

This year's crisis is a reminder of how little agricultural irrigation there is and how much the 85 per cent of the population which lives in the countryside depends on rain.

"1996 was a climatic fluke. There were perfect rains in the right places in the right amounts at the right times," says Jim Borton of the United Nations Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia. "To talk of self-sufficiency was somewhat premature."

Last year there was little rain in the main growing period in July and August, and an unexpected wet spell during harvest time in November. Rains can knock down the standing corn and shatter the kernels, or make the harvested corn germinate and develop fungal

Poor harvests do not necessarily lead to famine, and Ethiopia's prime minister, Meles Zenawi, remains confident that the television pic-tures of starving children which

sible for a number of reasons," he says. "The surplus-producing areas are in a good position to cover a good deal of the shortfall."

Thanks to better collaboration with donor governments, Ethiopia now has emergency grain stocks around the country to cover a crisis. In 1985 it took months for foreign governments to ship aid. "If we get a hard pledge from a government we can take it from stocks so that if it does take time to arrive, it doesn't matter," says Mr Meles.

The United States and the European Union have pledged 205,000 tonnes so far.

The government is determined to prevent another migration of peasants from famine areas. In 1985 the hungry flocked to main roads to wait for relief. Foreign charities set up huge cities of tents to shelter the

sick and dying.
Although officials in Tigray admit that this year's looming crisis has al-ready created some "distress migration", they are trying to direct aid to the neediest in the villages where

Foreign donors applaud the government for its investments in agrirural credit schemes to the building of earth dams to catch the rain.

The World Bank has offered \$490 million loan for rural road building. But the bank and the International Monetary Fund's support for the reduction of subsidies on fertiliser prices has led farmers to cut back on their use.

Some experts accuse the governnent and foreign donors of complacency in the face of a "time-bomb", even if this year's crisis is contained. The country has twice as many people as in 1985 and the population is growing at more than 3 per cent a year, while landholdings diminish in size to the point where fewer and fewer farmers can feed their families even in a good year. At some point there will

"The highland areas are still unbelievably inaccessible," says Ben Foot of the Save the Children Fund. "The government and the donor community want everything to be positive, but it's hiding a reality which will hit them from behind."

Even this year, he says, "beside the 5 million the government accepts are in need, there are another 5 million on the edge".

David Beresford in Cape Town

A ROW has blown up between team of British military advisers and the command of the South African army over allegations that the country's defence force is day ging its heels on the integration of ex-guerrillas into its ranks.

A terse exchange of correspondence between the British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) in South Africa and the head of the army, General Reginal Otto, was tabled at a meeting of a parliamentary committee on de fence this week.

The exchanges were precipitated by a carefully-worded but critical report on the progress of integration in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) drawn up by BMATT in October.

"moved down the SANDF's order of priorities", the report said it tied in with a "regrettable" hardening of attitudes by commanders towards what it calls "non-statutory forces" (NSF), or former guerrillas. It re and "acrimony" in the integration process. And it said it was notable that there was "little in the physical nature of army training institutions o show any ex-NSF ownership. Very few room names, street names, flags, symbols, pictures or traditions come from the NSF."

The report drew a tart response

of conducting an emergency drill. Meanwhile former South African president I' W Boths, aged 82, pleaded not guilty this week to charges of defying the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed v Desmond Tutu. He accused the Nobel laureate of malicious perse-cution and conducting a witch-hund

It was the second appearance by Mr Botha before a black magistrate n his home town of George. The

No rightwing demonstrators ings against awakening the "tiger" in Afrikanerdom, the demonstrators held placards saying. "Afrikaner

Madiba's [Nelson Mandela's] roar But there is unease among ANC

The ANC is concerned not to

South African army 'blocks ANC fighters'

Noting that integration has

from Gen Otto, who demanded that BMATT justify its criticism with specific examples. BMATT did so, detailing a string of incidents, including an occasion when minutes of the army accreditation board were "deliberately changed, thus misrepresenting board members, and courts martial which seemed to be biased against ex-guerrillas. In one case, a warrant officer had been merely reprimanded after locking three NSF officers in a room and tear-gassing them under the pretext

trial will begin on April 14.

tiger meow, meow, meow", and "Botha's meow no match for

leaders over the prosecution. Mr Mandela is believed to have appealed personally to Mr Boths to back off and testify to the commis-

allenate South Africa's former white rulers. At a strategy meeting iss weekend, ANC leaders decided to engage in dialogue with Afrikaners to reassure them about their plant

A SK any teenage northern Moroccan male what his fu-ture will be and he will tell you he has three options: to escape scross the sea to Europe; become a contraband dealer; or get into the hashish trade and end up either rich Mohamed, who has tried al three, is the perfect guide to Morocco's "green gold" hashish

David Sharrock in Tangler

We drive north out of Tangier along the coast before turning in-land into the foothills of the Rif nountains, At Oued Allan 50 fisher-

Mali village

sends aid

to Quebec

Alex Duval Smith in Bamako

OVED by the plight of thou sands of Canadians whose

West African village called on

their subjects to send emergency

The 40,000 West African

francs (\$65) dispatched from

Quebec should surprise no one.

said Moussa Konaté, who was

charged with sending off the

money and a fax of sympathy.
There was no fuss when

helped farmers in Sanankorob

after floods in 1995 and 1997,

he said. "We are aware that the

[money] they have received from us is symbolic. But it shows that

iving has to do with the heart,

Mr Konsté said most of the

4,500 people in Sanankoroba,

who farm cotton and millet, has

never travelled further than the 30km to the capital, Bamako.

Living under straw roofs on the arid Sahel plain, they had no concept of what ice was until bat-

ery-driven televisions in the vil-

lage showed news footage last month of homes in Quebec with

But prayers were immediately

said in the village mosques for Saint Elisabeth, a dairy-farming

ommunity of about 1.500 peo-

ple, 100km north of Montreal,

which has been twinned with

Mr Konaté sald: "When the

winning offer came up, the 15

very dubious because they had

bad memories of colonisation.

But Saint Elisabeth sent a group of young people, who are with the

dilagers and slept in their huts.

Since then, under a scheme

Sanankoroba have set aside land

which is communally farmed to

Canadian land has bought 30

Sanankoroba, built six class-

rooms and allowed its farmers to visit Saint Elisabeth.

called Hands for Tomorrow,

fund the twinning scheme.

Money raised from the

oxen and ploughs for

The elders decided the youths

were from a great people."

Saint Elisabeth and

anankoroba for 13 years.

out heating and light.

farmers in Saint Elisabeth

town of Saint Elisabeth in

lives were devastated by ice storms last month, the elders of catch, haggling over prices. "This is one of the most important places for sending the hashish across to Spain," says Mohamed, gesturing towards the windsurfers' paradisetown of Tarifa across the strait.

"It's like a river — very easy to cross. Of course, it's easy to get caught too, if you don't pay the baksheesh or if the government's wanting to clean up. Most of the big dealers are in prison now but there's a new generation making them-

Under pressure from the European Union, in particular Spain, the Moroccan authorities have cracked down on the kif (hashish) market, but with mixed results. The offen-

lice work and a number of drug barons were jailed. The people of Tangier say the crackdown was too harsh. "They have squeezed the life out of Tangier, there's no trickledown effect any more from the hashish trade and every sector has suffered," laments one ex-pat. Cynics note that not all the Mister Bigs were rounded up; some suggest that politicians' names were linked to the investigations.

The authorities admit that about 173,000 acres of land in the Rif re-

bumper crop, yielding about 30 tonnes of cannabis. It is a tricky problem to solve, because the government's grip on the rebellious Berber people of the north has never been absolute.

Attempts to promote alternative cash crops have produced few results. Cannabis fetches 10 times the price of wheat. "Without kif we would starve," says Mohamed.

Production is therefore quietly tolerated while the authorities go after the dealers, Three-quarters of the cannabis grown in the Rif is des-

tined for Europe. The Moroccans claim to have broken about 30 drugs networks in 1996-97, arresting 34 Britons, 126 Spaniards, 59 French and 25 Dutch.

In a sinister development last vear, six tonnes of cocaine washed up on Morocco's shores. A Spanishregistered vessel sailing out of Southampton had dumped its cargo after engine failure forced the Colombian crew to shelter in Moroccan waters.

The Moroccans used the incident to support their contention that the drugs trade is international and that Europe should not blame Morocco for all its drug problems.

"We are left to police Europe's southern shores alone," a government official said. "European aid to combat drugs in north Morocco is

Germany hit by blackmail

ian Traynor in Bonn

OLICE in Baden-Württemberg are scouring supermarket shelves for baby food poisoned by a blackmailer demanding 800,000 marks (\$440,000) from the Nestlé

The same force has just arrested a 46-year-old printer who allegedly tried to extort 5 million marks from Daimler-Benz by threatening to shoot drivers of Mercedes cars.

In neighbouring Bavaria a man has been demanding 5 million marks from the Lidl supermarket chain under threat of contaminating the food it sells. Lid! has responded by opening a bank account from which he can withdraw 1,000 marks

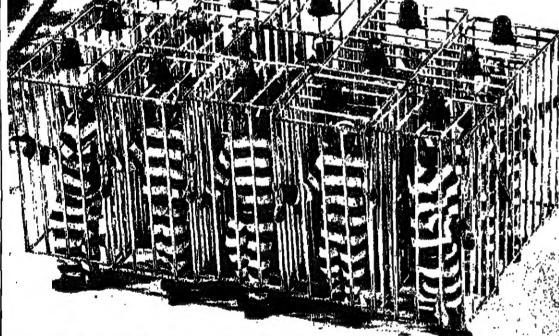
And in Nuremburg a blackmailer is demanding a million marks from the Noris bank for keeping quiet about confidential client information.

Cyanide-spiked baby food laced with pesticide strawberry jam adulterated with rat poison — these are a few of the cases exercising criminologists company boardrooms and the German CID as blackmailers, mostly amateurs, try to extort easy money from industrialists.

"There's a boom in this kind of crime in Germany at the moment,' savs Rainer von zur Muchlen, head of the association of independent German security consultants, "It's a phenomenon that can't really be ex-There are believed to have been 18

cases already this year. Most involve the food industry, generating a panic about food safety which appears to satisfy the blackmailers' craving for publicity. The publicity then inspires copycats, the police say.

There are now six times as many cases — about 150 a year — as there were in the mid-1980s, putting Germany with Britain at the top of was woken up by the sound of of lives. the international league for black | gunfire," Mr Chakrani says. "The



Party politics . . . A samba group at the Rio carnival, whose theme, 'Samba in your feet and hands in the air; this is a stick-up', is intended as a protest against political corruption in Brazil PHOTO: PALLO WHITAKER

Business out to thwart kidnappers

Rìchard Galpin in Kørachi

gles of Sindh province, in Pakistan, By day he was forced to march for up to seven hours through the thick undergrowth. At night he was chained to a tree and given just enough food to keep him alive.

Mr Chakrani, like several other prominent businessmen, had been dragged from his car at gunpoint in Karachi, Pakistan's commercial capital and one of the most violent and lawless cities in south Asia. His kidnappers demanded a ransom of \$410,000.

Suddenly the tables were turned. "One morning at about five o'clock I | violence that has claimed thousands

son Committee (CPLC), which is rapidly replacing the police force as Karachi's most reliable law-enforce ment agency, "If my family had relied on the police and not the CPLC, I don't think I'd have been released without paying the ransom,"

The CPLC was set up in 1989 by a group of businessmen who had little faith that the Karachi police - regarded as the most corrupt in the country - would tackle a wave of kidnappings in a city torn by ethnic

With the blessing of the provin-

then tried to run away. Some were | agencies, a small group of volun-Caught."

Caught."

Mr Chakrani had been rescued after a painstaking investigation, not by the police but by a voluntary orthe CPLC resolved more than 80 ers. In response to his earlier warnganisation, the Citizens-Police Liai- per cent of kidnapping cases; the victims were released unhurt, no money changed hands, and eight gangs were jailed.

Nine years later it is a fully-fledged crime detection and prevention agency with phone-tapping and voicematching equipment, a database of all known criminals in the area, and software to create identikit pictures.

The police lack the training for crime detection, they lack equipment and they lack qualified people," says the CPLC's founder, Jameel Yusuf. "And because the police force has been politicised, people do not trust them. So ultimately, we took over their role mail through product tampering. | kidnappers panicked, released me. | cial governor and the intelligence | because people wanted us to do it." | in South Africa.

don't 1 ?"

Moroccans defy crackdown on drugs trade

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WASHINGTON DIARY **Martin Kettle**

∧ S A conscientious reporter. I had switched on the televi-sion to watch the event from Ohio State, but I had done so without expectations. I'll get on with something else, I thought, with that in the background. It was just possible that Madeleine Albright might utter some slightly different nuance to her endlessly repeated formula-tions about United States policy towards Iraq that would be worth parsing for the readers. Or conceivably William Cohen would take the opportunity to make some further announcement about fresh deployments in the Gulf. Unlikely in both cases, but better safe than sorry.

Albright had just begun to speak, and I was starting to do something quite unrelated to Iraq, when the first shouts began. Like most people watching, I suspect, I initially discounted their significance. One has become accustomed, in recent years, to the occasional heckler breaching the security and disrupting political meetings in America and in Britain.

The event in Columbus, Ohio, recked of careful planning and modern political stage management. It came hard on the heels of a speech by President Clinton at the Pentagon in which he spelled out his Iraq objectives with greater care and in greater detail than before, and in which he appeared to address some of the issues that the published opinion polls, and doubtless also his own private surveys, had identified as troubling to some Americans. The next day, a formidable trio of

US foreign policy makers — secre-tary of state Albright, defence secre-tary Cohen and the president's national security adviser Sandy Berger - was dispatched by the White House to conduct a televised 'town meeting" on the administration's Iraq policy. They had been sent to what the scriptwriters albeing made by three rational and humane people, people who could

taneity or unpredictability. Modern politics is about getting a message across to an audience that doesn't answer back. The purpose of the audience is to give an illusion that people like you are listening open-mindedly to what the politician has to say and to respond enthusiastically to the politician's message. Dialogue is never the purpose of a modern political meeting.

The set-up in Ohio wholly sup-ported that interpretation. This superficially vernacular local gathering was in reality a large television studio audience. The whole thing was set up with and for CNN, thereby confirming, to the fury of the other networks, that Ted Turner's corporation enjoys most favoured network status with the Clinton White House. It was "moderated" by two familiar CNN an-chors, Bernard Shaw and Judy Woodruff. The real audience was not the thousand or so people in the hall in Columbus, but the television audience at home and even more, one suspected, the very small number of Iraqi government officials who have access to CNN and who are familiar with using the Atlantabased network as a modern-day

diplomatic courler service. No wonder, then, that there was so little expectation that the Ohio meeting would consist of anything

ways call "the American heartland" so that viewers could see that a rational and humane Iraq policy was communicate well and reassuringly. Any resemblance to a true town

meeting was, one supposed, superficial and illusory. In a true town meeting, the doors are opened and anyone who is interested can come in. In a town meeting, the floor is thrown open to the public so that they can make their own views clear. In a town meeting, the flow of the debate is spontaneous and unpredictable.

But modern politics abhors spon-

modern political public relations. The shouts which accompanied Albright's opening remarks continued through Cohen's and Berger's too. They became chants - of "No War", of "No World War" and of "No Racist War". They developed into fierce and focused interventions, questioning the US's moral right to bomb Iraqi civilians, challenging its claim to act unilaterally without United Nations authority, demanding that the US act consistently by opposing all undemocratic dictatorships, including many that it is anxious to support

Albright and her colleagues were manifestly unhappy from beginning to end. Though they managed to get their scripted message across, the overwhelming impression from Ohio was, first, that nobody sup-

is divided and sceptical about the role which the administration is seeking to exercise in Iraq. Ohio State was a famous débâcle

TONIGHT ON
NIGHT LINE
WE DISCUSS THE BENEFITS
OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN
TO BOMB IRAQ WITH
A DISTINGUISHED
PANEL OF EXPERTS...

Clearly, someone in the White House blundered in their preparations, and in the ensuing days officials scampered to distance themselves from responsibility. On the other hand, if they had taken the trouble to read an opinion poil in the Columbus Dispatch earlier that week, which showed that fewer than one in five voters in Ohio supported military rather than diplomatic action to solve the Iraq weapons crisis, then they might

PESTILENCE

ports Saddam Hussein; second, that have better understood the situation the administration was embarking into which they sent the hapless on a course of action whose conclu-Albright and her colleagues. sion was genuinely unclear; and, third, that American public opinion Nothing in modern politics is

FAMINE

ever quite what it seems, and one should not assume that what we saw at Ohio State was a new, campusbased anti-war mass protest movement of the sort which disabled the US in Vietnam 30 years ago. But the echoes were unmistakable, and that was how it struck a lot of people to whom I spoke both inside and outside Washington last week.

Whether with a true note or a false one, Ohio State tolled a warning bell for the Clinton administration's Iraq policy, and that perception, both at home and abroad, has damaged the president at a time when for many other rea-

The New Centre should be our slogan, forming an alliance of those eady and able to achieve things." Mr Lafontaine, a man of the left, is seen as unable to attract the swing vote. Mr Kohl, too, has tradi-tionally favoured a divisive "us-versus-them" campaign and has opposed a "grand coalition" of Christian and Social Democrats in,

> Such an outcome in Septemb said Mr Schröder, could not be a strategic aim, but nor would it be a, national catastrophe"

The polls consistently show him as the figure with the best chance of inscating Mr Kohl. So the chancel lor is campaigning hard in Lower Saxony, hoping to trim a Schröder victory and indirectly promote, Mr. afontaine, whom he best comfort ably in 1990. Much will hinge on Sunday, but all the signs are that Mr Lafontaine could yet steal the cand

"Many in the party see Schröd and a party member for 35 years. "But I can't see a better candidate for the party and for Germany."

Suharto has his back to the wall

patrolling the streets, sub-machine

guns by their side. Such riots have

become a frequent occurrence in

the past few weeks along the north-

ern coast of Java, and throughout

More than 10 people died in one

massacres of the 20th century.

has seriously sought to resist the

demands of the International Mone

tary Fund and its de facto master,

the United States. Unhappy with the

terms of the IMF deal and its failure

posed a board whose role would be

to supervise the pegging of the cur-

Few think it would work, Over

the past week, it has been opposed

by the IMF, the World Bank, the

US, the European Union and, signif-

icantly, Indonesia's hitherto friendly

President Clinton's anxieties led

him to telephone Suharto late last

week, ahead of the Group of Seven

meeting in London, for the second

time within eight days, telling him

to show more political commitment

rency to the dollar.

neighbour Singapore.

much of Indonesia.

Martin Jacques in Jakarta

F YOU ARE patient and wait until April, you will see the last revolution of the

Dr Hermawan Sulistyo deadly serious. He carefully produced from his briefcase the chronology of Indonesia's imminent evolution, which he wrote last lovember. "Everything has so far been proved right," he said.

The smog that blanketed Indonesia in a terrible haze for months on end last year has returned with a vengeance and is now covering parts of Sumatra and Borneo, But the more worrying hot spots this year are those caused by economic ollapse and boiling ethnic tensions in this huge country of 200 million

Pamanukan is a small town, 90 diometres north of the capital, which experienced its first riot last | to stabilise the rupiah, he has proweek, "It started at 9am," said Teddy, the local pharmacist. "It lasted until three in the afternoon."

The evidence was all too plain to see. About 30 shops had been burned down and many others remained closed. Owners had sprayed "Muslim," "Pro-Muslim" or "Islam" on their shutters in a desperate bid to prevent their businesses from going the same way.

According to Teddy, most of the wrecked shops had been Chineseowned. Most of the small Chinese minority seemed to have left town, frightened for their lives. "People are hungry and desperate. That's

to economic reform and offering more financial help.

tense, with soldiers in battledress rupiah, whose value has fallen from 2,400 to the dollar last July to around 10,000 today. The result has been twofold, Most Indonesian firms are now technically bankrupt, and a ferocious inflationary spiral has been unleashed.

week alone. Indonesia is experience "The economy is in absolutely aping its worst social unrest since alling shape," said a leading ana-1965, the year that General Suharto, lyst for a Western financial house in its effective dictator, came to power lakarta. "No one has got any money. accompanied by one of the worst Most companies have cut back, and many have effectively stopped oper-It is this looming threat of an unating. It's now a cash-only ecocontrollable social convulsion which nomy," added the analyst who, for fear of finding his stay in Indonesia is driving Suharto to growing acts of cut short, preferred to remain He is the only Asian leader who

The impact on the people of this densely populated archipelago. which from one end to the other is the same distance as from Los Angeles to New York, has been dev-

The price of rice and cooking oil has gone up by between 30 and 100 per cent in under two months, while that of chicken, the main meat, has increased by between 50 and 100 per cent. "Thousands have already died from hunger and lack of medical supplies, and many more will die in the coming months," the analyst added.

The desperation in Pamanukan and thousands of other towns throughout Indonesia is the result of an economic hurricane that has left people confused, powerless and

What makes Indonesia different from every other country that has

A week on, the situation remains | although nobody is sure. But he is | been engulfed in the Asian meltdesperate to try to stabilise the down is that the economic crisis

William Keeling, an expert on Indonesia for the merchant bank Dresdner, explained: "The political and social implications of the economic downturn were always going to be enormous." Subarto has been in power for 32

years. He is 76 years old, the system highly autocratic, corruption is endemic, and the disparity between rich and poor has grown apace during the boom years of the last

Resentment over the division of the spoils has become an issue throughout the region, but nowhere more so than in Indonesia

VERYONE comments on it. For Indria Samego, an economist, "development has been about growth, rather than equity". Sulistvo is more outspoken, "Most of all, there is a growing sense of injustice. Too few people got too much, and too many people got too

He is sure that Suharto's days are strictly numbered. The problem is that the opportunities to get rid of him fairly painlessly have been squandered. On March 10 he will be re-elected president by the Consultative Assembly for another fiveyear term. According to the senior nalyst: "It's now clown to bedlam."

Meanwhile Southeast Asia is ooking on with growing alarm at the implosion of its mighty neighbour. George Yeoh, Singapore's

minister for industry, said: "They never expected this. Until recently all of us were convinced the Indonesian economy was sound. The worrying thing for us is not so much the economy, but the political and strategic implications.

Malaysia and Singapore fear a ruge influx of refugees which can only exacerbate the sensitive nature of inter-ethnic relations in their own

Already the fires are burning again in Kalimantan, threatening yet again to engulf the region in a similar acrid haze to last year, but this time with the Indonesian army too preoccupied with social hot spots to deal with the physical ones.

Sulistyo painstakingly attempted to explain why the Indonesian revolution had not yet happened. "Al-though the rupiah hit its lowest point in early January, it was the month of Ramadan and selfrestraint. As soon as it was over, there was no reason for selfrestraint any more. Nobody had any money after Ramadan and prices were rocketing, so the riots started.

"With the government now threatening severe repression in the weeks leading up to the Consultative Assembly, things will begin to quieten down again. But after that, there will be a renewed sense of dis-

Prices hikes will get even worse. By early April, the situation will be uncontrollable and the president will declare a state of emergency.

"The revolution will start, but there will be a lot of blood. It will be very messy. Angry mobs will turn on Suharto and the Chinese. - The Observer

Washington Post, page 13

Bay of Pigs was fiasco. **CIA** admits

Tim Weiner

NE of the most secret documents of the cold war is out: the Central Intelligence Agency's brutally honest inquest into the Bay of Pigs flasco in 1961. which laid the blame for the disastrons invasion of Cuba on the agency's own institutional arrogance, ignorance and incom-

The 150-page document also warned those who might want to use the CIA to overthrow enemies, saying that job belonged to the Pentagon and its broad arsenal of military forces.

The report painted a picture of an agency shot through with selfdeception, whose secret operaor both", and said almost none of the CIA officers involved in the Cuban operation could speak Spanish. The officers were also contemptuous of the Cuban "puppets" they had hand picked to replace Fidel Castro.

The Bay of Pigs invasion, carried out in April 1961, was organised by the CIA and was intended to lead to the overone copy of the report was destroyed, a Freedom of throw of Castro, whose commit Information Act request unnist government just 90 miles earthed the sole surviving volfrom the Florida coast was seen ume. It had been locked in the as a beachbead for Soviet influsafe of the CIA director. ince in the West:

While the basic story of the mmando raid on Cuba ia lown, the report, entitled The aspector-General's Survey Of

Fidel Castro commands the rout of the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Piga

The Cuban Operation, is a well of hard facts. A leading historian of the operation, Peter Wyden, wrote wistfully in his book Bay Of Pigs: The Untold Story, published in 1979, that the report was "probably buried for ever". But last week, after 36 years of secrecy during which all but

The report, written after an in-

vestigation by the CIA's inspector-general, Lyman Kirkpatrick; is a record of bungling that makes for chilling reading.

CIA leaders believed it was President John F Kennedy's failure to approve a simultaneous attack on Cuba's air force that caused the deaths of nearly ,500 raiders.

The Kirkpatrick report said planning for the operation began in April 1960. It was to be a classic covert action "in which the hand of the United States would not appear". The plan called for a group of exiled Cuban leaders, supported by a CIA cadre, to build political momentum toward toppling Castro, who had taken power 16 months earlier.

But, the report said, CIA officers became so wrapped up in

the operation that "they lost sight of ultimate goals". Their budget grew from \$4.4 million to \$46 million. Inside a year, they had created an unruly, illtrained invasion force whose cover had been blown before the operation took place.

The officers staffing the operation were in many instances incapable: "Very few spoke Spanish or had Latin American background knowledge."

The report added that CIA employees treated the Cubans training to overthrow Castro "like dirt". The abuse left the hungry, disillusioned trainees "wondering what kind of Cuban future they were fighting for".

The Revolutionary Council, the CIA-created alternative to Castro, became the agency's "puppets", said the report. "Isolated in a Miami safe house, 'voluntarily' but under strong persuasion, the Revolutionary Council members awaited the outcome of a military operation which they had not planned and knew little about, while agencywritten bulletins were issued to the world in their name." If the CIA could not work with

Cubans, Kirkpatrick warned prophetically, "how can the agency possibly succeed with the natives of Black Africa or southeast Asia?"

The report said the CIA deluded itself and the White House that the invasion would magically create in Cuba an anti-Castro "organised resistance that did not exist".

On April 15, 1961, CIA pilots knocked out part of Castro's air force, and were set to finish the job. At the last minute, on April off the air strikes, but the message did not reach the 1.511 commandos headed for the Bay of Pigs. Three days of fighting

destroyed the invading force. A brigade commander sent his final messages: "We are out of ammo and fighting on the beach. Please send help." And: "In water. Out of ammo. Enemy closing in. Help must arrive in next hour." It never came.

The CIA viewed the report as poison: "In unfriendly hands, it can become a weapon unjustifiably to attack the entire mission, organisation, and functions of the agency," the CIA's deputy director at the time said. - New York Times

A man who is all things to all men _ower Saxony's premier "dilettantes" had resulted in 5 mil- | Wulff, the Christian Democrat chal-

wants Chancellor Kohl's ob, writes lan Traynor HE boogie-woogie piano rolled

confortingly from the stage, he free beer flowed, and the man tho wants to lead Germany into the ext millennium strutted confiently to the podium. "The Kohl era is over," pro-

d Gerhard Schröder, launchng himself into a deftly pitched 0-minute performance which he opes will propel him to the chan ellery in Bonn in September. "Ah," grinned Heinrich Sprech-

leyer, a retired steelworker, "Gerard Schröder's our man. He's a ian of the people. He's the only one ho can beat Kohl." In front of 700 trades unionists

id Social Democrats in a municipal ill in the northern town of Osnaück. Mr Schröder plied his lairite message that, after 16 years government by Helmut Kohl. ermany badly needs a change.

lion out of work, but national pride could and should reinvigorate the hugely successful post-war German model. "We need to adapt, but there's little reason to throw away Harms, the Greens' senior candithe things that made this country

Mr Schröder is a self-made man. cleaner.

Since 1990 he has been the Social Democratic premier of Lower Saxony. His Osnabrlick performance was aimed at winning a third term | the Social Democrats have perin the state election on Sunday.

It is a poll of much more than regional significance. Mr Schröder is locked in an increasingly bad-tempered feud with his party leader, Oskar Lafontaine, for the nomination to challenge Mr Kohl on September 27.

The Lower Saxony poll is seen as a dummy run for September and won in 1994 in Lower Saxony, he could go a long way towards decid- will give up his bid for the candi-Mr Kohl's "contempt" for the ing the contest. "It's a very person- | dacy. Polls suggest he will get about | orking man and his cabinet of alised campaign," said Christian 45 per cent.

lenger in the state. "Politics here has been nothing but Schröder for the past eight

date. "Everything is subordinate to the Schröder fixation." Mr Schröder is a master of real-He was born into poverty and ruin | politik - all things to all men and in 1944, the year his father died in women. He calls himself a pragmathe war. He and his five siblings tist; his critics call him a mother, a opportunist. His party is divided on his merits. But he is popular with the public and this is his trump card in

claiming the chancellor candidacy. Despite 15 years in opposition, formed wretchedly in a string of regional elections over the past two Gerhard Schröder: pragmatist years, forfeiting up to 6 per cent of their vote.

Mr Schröder's pitch is that he is the only figure who can reverse that trend. He has hitched his fate to that promise. Should he fail to get within two points of the 44.3 per cent he



or shameless opportunist?

His other main claim - and the weapon he will deploy against Mr Lafontaine and Mr Kohl — is that he is the only politician capable of harvesting crossover votes from the Christian Democrats.

"Who can maximise our chances on September 27 and make victory probable?" he asked rhetorically. Martin Walker is on holiday

dacy from Mr Schröder. as too rightwing, too business-friendly," said Karl Luiker, aged 71

HE Quarantine Abolition Fighting Fund has been grant-

ed leave to challenge Britain's quarantine law in the High Court.

Hague's single rose fails to seduce Tory faithful

tive party, announced last week by its new leader, William Hague, may well be a necessary step on the road back to power, but the occasion also served to demonstrate how long a march that is likely to

Mr Hague hopes that the makeover will, among other things, bury the bitter squabbles over Europe that did so much to damage the party in the run-up to the last election. But a visit by the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, to receive the freedom of the City of London, showed that the Tories are as riven

The diehard Eurosceptic, John Redwood, who is the Tories' industry spokesman, had to be slapped down by Mr Hague for criticising the honour for Mr Kohl. The City, he had suggested, had been put up to it by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the honour should have waited until the Chancellor left

As part of the new Tory image, Mr Hague has it in mind to replace the flame of liberty, the party's symbol in recent elections. One flight of fancy is that, since New Labour did so well with its red rose symbol, the Tories might adopt a white rose to highlight Mr Hague's Yorkshire ori-gins. But historians in the Hague camp were quick to note that, in the War of the Roses, the House of York came off second best.

The Tories are even thinking of changing their party's colour from its traditional blue. But to what? Some voices favoured purple, which others thought smacked a little too much of Imperial Rome.

Mr Hague's strategists concede that they are playing a long game. And, believing that they lost the last election over questions of image and character rather than of policy, they are not in the business of adopting new policies. There will, however, be a restatement of "Tory principles" and, after the local elections in May, a "Listening to Britain" consultation exercise to discover the issues about which voters care

The hapless Chancellor Kohl meanwhile suffered another rebuff when his name mysteriously disappeared from a list of those due to receive an honorary degree from Cambridge university. A spokesman said that "reservations" had been expressed, possibly by some who shared Mr Redwood's feelings.

HE MULTINATIONAL 3M Group could face a bill of up to £23 million if some 4,700 patients who have received a faulty hip replacement are found to need a revision operation.

The Medical Devices Agency issued a hazard warning after studies showed that up to 21 per cent of the 3M Capital prostheses, made by 3M Health Care, failed within five years. The artificial joints were becoming loose and, in the process, eroding healthy bone in a way that could reduce the chances of success in any further replacement operation.

The suspect devices were implanted over a six-year period between 1991 and 1997. More than 250,000 hip operations took place during that time, and the 3M im-

HE REFORM of the Conserva- | plant was used in 4,700 of them. The Government set about tracing the ecipients, and 3M Health Care said it would pay for reviewing the patients, for operations to correct faulty implants, and for "lifelong fol-

> Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother meanwhile looked remarkably spry and seemed to walk without too much difficulty as she left hospital 23 days after her second hip replacement operation. She suffered a fall while inspecting her horses at Sandringham.

A PUB LANDLORD from East Sussex, Alan Coomber, was resigned to the prospect of becoming England's first beef martyr after two bone steaks turned out to be undercover environmental health officers from his local council

The sale of beef on the bone was banned three months ago after scientists concluded that there was a very small chance that bone could transmit BSE, or mad cow disease, to humans. Mr Coomber has openly defied the ban and, even though he now faces prosecution, continues to sell T-bone steak and has set up a fighting fund to cover his legal

up £5,000 or two years in prison.

ICHAEL COLE, possibly Britain's best-known PR man, announced his early retirement after 10 hard years as spokesman for the multi-millionaire Mohamed Al Fayed, owner of Harrods and father of Dodi, who died with Diana Princess of Wales, in a car crash is Paris. Both he and Mr Al Fayed paid generous tributes to one another, though some suspected that Mr Cole had quit because of his em-

ployer's erratic behaviour. Formerly the BBC's court corre spondent, Mr Cole spoke for Mr A ship of Harrods, in the revelations which brought down the Tory MPs Jonathan Aitken and Neil Hamilton. and more recently aired his boss's and the princess died as the resul of a secret conspiracy. It had started to sound as though Mr Cole was no longer quite in control.



low-up care*.

A Scottish hotelier has already been served with a summons after allegedly serving rib of beef at a free dinner given for 170 people six days after the ban was introduced. He and Mr Coomber could face fines of

Fayed in the row over the ownerimprobable conviction that Dodi



Masons given final warning

Alan Travis

ARLIAMENT last week clashed openly with Britain's oldest "secret" april 1 oldest "secret" society as MPs ordered the Freemasons to hand over the names of their menibers connected with past police corruption scandals.

The officials of the United Grand odge of England now risk facing a formal charge of being in contempt of Parliament, backed by the threat of imprisonment, unless they are prepared to submit to the demand from MPs for names.

The dramatic confrontation ombined with the promise earlier n the week by the Home Secretary. Jack Straw, to bring in legislation to "out" masons who are serving judges and police officers — threatens finally to strip away the cloak of secrecy from the 8,660 masonic

There were a series of angry exchanges between Chris Mullin, chairman of the Commons home affairs committee, and Michael Higham, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of Freema-

PARLIAMENTARY SKETCH

//HEN the Commons home af-

freemasons, it was one of the great

nation from Commander Michael

Higham, Grand Secretary of the

United Grand Lodge of Freemasons,

was like getting blood out of a stone.

He is, somehow, floppier than that.

More like squeezing malt whisky

In the end Chris Mullin, the com-

mittee's chairman, donned the black'

cap. "Are you aware," he thundered.

"that if we issue an order, your re-

fusal to co-operate will amount to a

Mr Higham said it wasn't as sim-

ple as that. Mr Mullin told him that

he hadn't got the remotest faith in

anything he said. "Will you provide

the information we have asked for

out of a face flannel, perhaps.

contempt of Parliament?"

V fairs committee met the

that extracting infor-

Simon Hoggart

parliamentary slugfests.

The secret of stonewalling

It was a contest in which MPs are | connected with the now disbanded trying to shine a light on the activities of an organisation which reaches the highest levels of the British establishment.

Among its ruling council are the current Grand Master, the Duke of Kent: Lord Farnham, Pro Grand Master; a former Appeal Court judge, Sir John Balcombe: a second senior judicial figure, Judge J L Sessions; and the Earl of Cadogan. Martin Short, author of Inside

Thirty years ago, no politician would have dared to attempt to call the freemasons to account. They really are on the ropes. The impact on their membership

The Brotherhood, said last week:

could be quite serious." If he does not disclose the requisite names by March 5, Mr Higham risks being dragged to the Bar of the House of Commons and a maximum penalty of being imprisoned until the end of the parliamentary session in October. This punishment was last used in 1880.

Mr Mullin, a lifelong campalgner against judicial miscarriages of jus-tice, challenged Mr Higham to idensonry, over the naming of masons. tify his members among 161 names

board and ask them," the Comman-

der stalled. An old naval hand, he

looked like someone who had

Finally, the Grand Secretary ut-

way." (Clearly he hadn't realised that

na na na". It means refusing to do as

ordered, as in "contempt of court". So

he meant, "I am disobeying you, but not in a disobedient kind of way.")

What the committee is trying to

trouser-rollers in the West Midlands

steered a ship through typhoons

and had just been warned about a

"We are reaching make

spot of drizzle ahead.

"Yes or no?"

West Midlands Serious Crite Squad, of professional people is volved in the investigation into the Birmingham pub bombings and & those involved in the Stalker affair. which concerned an official inquir into the RUC's alleged "shoot b

Mr Mullin and other MP: clashed repeatedly with Mr Highan during the hearing. At one point, M Higham dismissed the police scadals as now being "pretty academic" and complained that MPs were conducting a "fishing expedition".

His stonewalling provoked Mr Mullin to point out angrily that he was talking about allegations from masons and former police offices hat there was "a firm within a firm" in the former West Midlands Ser ous Crime Squad, which was responsible for more than 3 miscarriages of justice.

After the hearing Mr Highan in dicated that co-operation might be orthcoming as the masons were law-abiding society but he stressed that the names and occupations d masons were private matters le tween them and their local lodge.

wasn't going to shop them without their permission. Indeed, having once promised the committee in would ask his board to reveal the

names, he had later changed his mind. Most MPs were infurlated. Except Gerald Howarth Aldershot) who resembled one of those tennis machines which thou balls at players. His control leve had been fixed at slow lob.

mind up time," stormed Mr Mullin. Mr Howarth was worried plans to oblige judges and policemen to reveal whether they were freemasons. Don't you believe the tered the words, "I'm saying 'no"," he said, "but not in a contemptuous Government's response has been Draconian?" he asked. "Phyob! contempt doesn't mean putting your finger up your nose and going "Na na went the ball.

"Don't your members feel a sets of persecution?" "Phwobb!" They feel impending persect tion," Mr Higham vouchsafe and a deep sense of resentment

the slur on their integrity. I realised once again that free do is to find out the names of sons are even more paranold short Serious Crime Squad, who were re- us than we non-Masons are also sponsible for innumerable miscarthem. Mr Higham may now go b To paraphrase Mr Higham, there would no doubt please him a let be in the form we have asked for it?" | were very few of these, and he | I very much doubt it.

Bombing brings loyalist warning

HE hardline Loyalist Volunteer Force this week vowed n mount fearsome revenge itiscks on Catholics after terrorists exploded a massive car bomb on Monday in the LVF's heartland, Portadown in County Armagh.

Mainstream loyalists warned that their four-year-old ceasefire was tretched to breaking point after the econd car bomb attack on a Protesant town in mid-Ulster in 72 hours. they suspect IRA involvement after ing Fein's suspension from the multi-party talks on Friday last week. Billy Hutchinson, of the Progres-sive Unionist Party, linked to the

THE Lord Chancellor, Lord

I Irvine, was this week stung into

making his first official statement in

defence of the £650,000 refurbish-

ment of his official residence - only

to have the Opposition reject his ex-

As ministerial friends started ral-

ying belated support for the embat-

tled Lord Chancellor, ministers and

officials also moved to calm fears in

Whitehall that a plan to expand Lord

rvine's department to support his

special responsibilities was a step

lowards creating a Department of

Lord Irvine believes he is the tar-

get of a media-driven vendetta to

undermine one of Tony Blair's most

valued confidants. But the most per-

sistent damage to the reputation of

the Prime Minister's legal mentor

has arisen from attacks on the pro-

grainme to restore the Lord Chan-

cellor's apartments in the Palace of

Westminster to their mid-Victorian

On Monday these prompted Lord living into issuing his first official

talement on the issue: a detailed

ustification of decisions "taken by

the relevant House [of Lords] au-

horities and not by the Lord Chan-

The statement stressed that

paintings, sculpture, prints and

other art objects being borrowed

ellor", he emphasised.

planation as "wholly inadequate".

Irvine tries to turn media tide

ceasefire, said: "I am asking loyal- | uled return to the talks on March 9 is ists to remain calm, but sooner or later my influence is going to evaporate. Political dialogue is not working. Time is running out for the loyalist ceasefire." The IRA said in a call to Ireland's RTE broadcasting network that it

was not involved and that its ceasefire remained intact Hopes of a political settlement were careering towards a new low as David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists, also linked the attack to the IRA. He said: "There can be

no question of Sinn Fein re-entering the talks process after this." Tony Blair's decision on whether

land are being taken from the

gallery cellars and will soon be on

view, thanks to the "substantial pub-

The Government Chief Whip,

Nick Brown, lambasted the attacks

on the Lord Chancellor as "out of all

Chancellor's mastery of complex detail, his intellectual abilities, and

sheer decency are central to the

The Tory legal affairs spokes-

man, Edward Garnier QC, called

Lord Irvine's explanation "wholly

inadequate" and claimed most

Lord Irvine was also the object of

an unrelated leak concerning the

£2.5 million expansion of his depart-

ment. This would see Lord Irvine's

staff increased by 30 to 40. The plan

prompted accusations that Lord

Irvine was empire-building and that

he planned to trawl Whitehall and

boach the finest civil service talent

o create a policy think-tank under

Officials stressed that the expan-

sions would be financed from within

the department's existing budget,

and argued that the plan was insti-

gated in order to cope with Lord Irvine's extensive role as a cabinet

committee chairman, covering legal

aid reform and with such growing

policy fields as freedom of informa-

tion, devolution and the sweeping

implications for the legal profession

om galleries in England and Scot- of the current Human Rights Bill. Treacy during his show for London Fashion Week

nis auspices.

success of this Government."

Labour MPs were "seething"

proportion". He added: "The Lord

lic access" being planned.

Ulster Volunteer Force which is on | to meet Sinn Fein before its schedassuming greater aignificance. Sinn Fein is threatening to stay away if the Prime Minister falls to see its leaders. It also wants it made impossible for Ronnie Flanagan, Ulster's chief constable, to rule that Sinn Fein has breached the Mitchell principles, and wante Mr Blair to force Mr Trimble to enter face-to-face negotiations

The Sinn Fein chairman, Mitchel McLaughlin, said: "We will go back in when there is a viable negotiating process and we will go back in on our own terms."

A Unionist walkout - long resisted by Mr Trimble - is on the cards if Sinn Fein gets its meeting.

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein president, denying IRA involvement in the Portadown bombing, said: "I think that the IRA would, if it was ending its cessation, say so." Suspicion was falling on the Con-

tinuity IRA, the splinter group opposed to the ceasefire. Security sources believe IRA mem-

bers are working with CIRA. Since the two murders in Belfast which prompted Sinn Fein's exclusion from the talks, the IRA has been linked to one killing and two car bombs.

The LVF tried to explode a car

bomb just across the Irish border in Dromad, County Louth, early on Monday. However, the bomb was

The group claims the Government is in breach of European Union law which ensures the freedom of movement of goods, which includes cats and dogs. THE Environment Secretary,

In Brief

John Prescott, announced that 60 per cent of all new homes built in the next 10 years will be on "recycled land" to encourage urban renewal and to defuse growing political disquiet over increasing development in the countryside.

A FORMER SAS soldier was ordered to do 240 hours' community service for carrying out a mock execution during a Sunday service as a favour for a Church of Scotland minister. Matthew Smith, aged 42, pretended to shoot the Reverend Earsley White in a stunt intended to illustrate Mr White's sermon to a congregation of 300 scouts, cubs and their leaders.

THE Home Secretary, Jack Straw, ruled out a new public inquiry into the Hillsborough disaster nine years ago, in which 96 football fans died.

THE MCC, temple of the cricketing establishment, rejected a proposal to end 211 vears of male-only membership

THE Prison Officers' Association voted to take national industrial action if the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, tries to use a Conservative law under which he may use the courts to declare illegal any unilateral industrial action by staff at any one orison. The POA had been led to elieve that Labour would retore their right to strike.

N an attempt to bring the judicial appointments system into the 20th century, the Lord Chancellor for the first time published national advertisements for the post of High Court judge.

OHN LLOYD, a 57-year-old Roman Catholic priest, was failed for 21 months after being found guilty of sexually abusing a teenage girl minutes after he had baptised her.

C ARDBOARD CITY, the sharity town for the homeless under London's Waterloo Station, is to be swept away and replaced by a 500-seat cinema.

S IR DAVID CROUCH, the former Conservative MP and pillar of the Tory Reform Group, has died, aged 78.

ENRY LIVINGS, the playwright, author and raconteur whose surreal farces such as Kelly's Eve and Eh? established him as the mightiest of Pennine writers, has died, aged 68.

Scientists battle over birth of universe

im Radford

WO masters of the universe are in mortal combat over he birth and survival of time itself. Two papers circulating among mathematicians and lysicists are wrestling with the problem of why the universe night never end.

On the one hand, the wheelhair-bound cosmologist Stephen Hawking, probably the most famous living scientist, and his Cambridge colleague Neil Turok, argue in a paper to be published in Physics Letters that what happened in the first trillion trillion trillionth of a second of time may dictate an eternity of

lesolation for the universe. On the other hand, the slan physicist Andrei Linde, one of the giants of inflation theory — which tries to explain what appened inside that first small fraction of a second — has circu-

lated a paper saying Hawking and Turok have got it wrong: universes like ours are popping into existence all the time, so there is no point in trying to find a beginning or an end.

At the bottom of the argument is a big problem. All the evidence says the universe has a reginning. So was there a "hofore" this moment of creation And will the expansion end?

Ten years ago, in the best-selling A Brief History Of Time, Hawking proposed that the universe exploded from a single point, in which the force of expansion was forever being slowed by the gravitational power of the matter in it. Which would win? Would the universe expand forever? Or would it colapse back on itself?

In the past few months, astronomers have repeatedly proposed hat the universe is not dense enough to stop its own expansion.

After billions of years, all the galaxies will have faded, but their cinders will go on sailing away from each other for eternity. The paper by Hawking and Turok exines some of Einstein's thinking - and uses pure theory to reach the same conclusion: the future of the universe was de-

first moment of its making. "They claim they get a cosmo-logy with a low density in a more natural way than other ideas along these lines," said Professor Sir Martin Rees, the Astronome Royal. He added that Linde claims that the Hawking and Turok model does not give the

cided by the conditions in that

right density for the universe. Both arguments depend on a noment called cosmic inflation in which a universe popped up from nowhere and expanded far faster than the speed of light, inflating itself. This inflation was a kind of anti-gravity. But, the

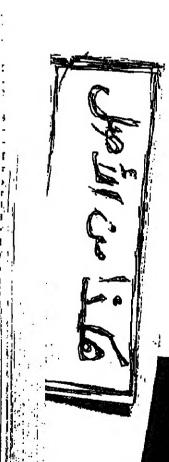
argument says, since gravity is negative energy, then this antigravity must have represented positive energy. Einstein's theories say matter is just frozen energy, so all the stars and galaxies are condensed from the energy manufactured from nothing in this inflationary moment.

Jodie Kidd models one of the creations of Irish-born milliner Philip

The new argument means llosophers now have to think about time having a beginning but no end. It could be worse.

"Linde believes in what he calls eternal inflation," said Sir Martin. "Once you set a universe going, it inflates and sprouts new big bangs all the time. One of Linde's criticisms is that Hawking talks about the initial big bang, but there never really was an initial big bang. Once you set up one, it sprouts an infi-nite number of big bangs. If that is the case, then the initial conlitions Steve worries about are lost in even deeper mists of cosmic history than we expected."

Comment, page 12





LESBIAN couple lost a test A case over access to perks at work last week, dealing a severe blow to the campaign for equal

rights for gays in the workplace. The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg ruled that South West Trains did not breach European equality laws in refusing a railway worker, Lisa Grant, travel concessions for her partner, Jill Percey.

Campaigners had high hopes of a win because the court's Advocate General had strongly backed their case in an interim opinion last September. In more than 85 per cent of cases the judges follow the Advo-

In addition, a European Court rul-

Fans learn

jeers sans

frontières

FENGLAND return from the 1998

World Cup in France this summer

"malades comme des perroquets" then

at least one group of Midlands football fans will be able to say "nons

ne regretions rien". Wolverhampton

Wanderers last week announced that

they will be host to cheap French

lessons to help fans intending to go

to France to distinguish their Arsenal from their Elbe.

The seven-week course — Ici Mon Fils, Sur Ma Tête — starts on

March 5, costs £50 and is offered in

association with Bilston community

college in the West Midlands, Tutors

will teach theraed modules in a bar at

Wolves's Molineux ground and then

a match will be shown on la têlé.
The course will eschew Émile

Zola in favour of Giantranco, and

former West Ham striker Paul God-

dard is more likely to come up in

conversation than French film-

maker Jean-Luc, but the organisers

"We are combining fun with

serious approach to language learn-

ing so that fans learn footballing

French," a college spokesman, Terry Guy, said. "We are being real-

istic and teaching fans what they may need to know."

Students will learn translations of

such choice phrases as: "I say, ref-

eree, I regret to inform you that

your vision is impaired" and "What

Dave Price, aged 38, a Birming

ham City fan, has signed up. "The

best part will be singing a few songs

same in English - so we are learn-

ing the French for 'Keep right on till

the end of the road' [the Birming-

classic 'Swing low, sweet chariot'."

land play Tunisia on June 15.

does my tattoo say?"

deny the course is frivolous.

John Duncan and

Jon Henley in Paris

ing in 1996 that sex discrimination | Ms Grant said: "It is now up to na- | grounds of sex because a male gay laws cover transsexuals had been seen as a strong pointer towards the adoption of equal rights for gays.

The judgment throws into doubt the chances of success for Terry Perkins, a sailor sacked by the Royal Navy in 1995 for being gay, because the judges explicitly stated that European Community law did not cover sexual orientation. He is waiting a date for a hearing,

A victory for Ma Grant, aged 30 and Ms Percey, 38, would have had major implications for Britain's employment, pensions and social secuity systems. The Prime Minister's wife, Cherie Booth QC, argued Ms Grant's case, but both the British and French governments fielded lawyers to oppose the claim.

tional governments to change legis-lation. We set out to try to raise awareness that there is discrimination in the workplace and we have done what we set out to do."

Ma Grant, a booking clerk, filed an equal pay claim with Southampton industrial tribunal after South West Trains rejected her application for free or cheap travel for Ma Percey, a nurse. She claimed that company rules limiting the perk to spouses or opposite-sex partners in a "meaningful relationship" for at least two years breached European equal pay laws, which cover perks as well as salary. The tribunal referred

the case to Luxembourg. The European Court held that there was no direct discrimination on

couple would also have been denied the concession. South West Trains successfully claimed its policy was not discrimination on grounds of sex, but on grounds of sexual orientation, which was not covered by European Community law.

The judges held that the transsexual case covered only a change from one sex to the other and not sexual orientation. "Community law as it stands at present does not cover discrimination based on sexual orientation," they ruled.

The judges said the EC had not yet adopted rules treating gay relationships as equal to marriage or stable opposite-sex partnerships, Nor did most member states treat

> stole a Snoopy dog. Last week, however, thiefracing technology caught up with him. Even Judge David Elfer paid tribute to his "long and sometimes very successful" career. But — trapped by his earprints - Mr Sewell was sentenced to a year in prison after admitting five burglary

Britain to have a mould taken of his ears by police. Prosecuting, Simon Medland told Southwark crown court that his break-ins vere carried out in either Yapham or Vauxhall, south

As usual, forensic staff duster or fingerprints. But "a peculia aspect of an otherwise ordinary eries of burgiaries" quickly became apparent — the profu sion of what turned out to be

Mr Sewell would have been suspect anyway because of the earprints — which are

The perfect match led quick to charges. Judge Effer told his he must be all too well awars of the misery his crimes caused.

Outside court, Detective Constable Alan Hodgson said he would encourage fellow officers to watch for similar giveaway

Mr Sewell is already serving! sentence of three years and nice months imposed earlier for other burglaries. This, plus his new sentence, gives him ample time to consider the use of an



A demonstrator puts his best foot forward on the chicken farm site at Croxton

Chickens duck flying picket ban

AST year British Airways cabin staff discovered the power of the "mass sickie" when threatened with the sack if they took industrial ection. Last week Magnet Kitchen workers, fired 18 months ago for going on strike, unveiled a new in-dustrial weapon in their battle for reinstatement: the chicken farm.

It was set up by the sacked workers from Darlington and a group of redundant Derbyshire miners on land near the Cambridgeshire mansion of Alan Bowkett, chief executive of Magnet's parent company Berisford, to evade threats of legal action

of getting round the legislation.

Under placards warning "the chickens are coming home to roost", and video surveillance by Mr Bowkett's security guards, the farm was officially opened with three hens on a site rented by the GMB union in the village of Croyton year St Neets the village of Croxton near St Neots.

Mr Bowkett - who last year got a £124,000 pay rise — was described as a "fat cat of the highest order" by the GMB national secretary, Phil Davies. The chicken farm has been named "Camp Bowkett".

The opening was marred when one of the chickens escaped and was run over on the A428. The two for secondary picketing. Lawyers | survivors were entrusted to a neigh-

had advised them it was the only way | bouring farmer until more secure coops are delivered and the sacked workers have arranged an official

farming permit. A spokesman for Berisford said the chicken farm was a "childish stunt" and "low-grade publicity the GMB had "no serious interest in tackling the issues or engaging in a sensible debate". Mr Bowkett was considering his legal options.

Terry Buckeraitis, a former president of the Derbyshire NUM who joined the farm launch, said the Magnet workers had supported Derbyshire miners during the 1984/85 pit strike and the former pitmen were now "repaying a debt of honour".

Ear marks out serial burglar

GUARDIAN WEEGY March 1 1996

CALVIN Sewell is no great shakes at the technology of possesses one gift which there through the ages would have envied. He has the ears of a cat.

Just by pressing an ear to a door or window - and keeping h there for some time - he can tell infallibly whether anyone is at home.

He has proved this with at least 13 immaculate burgiaries, netting £4,000 worth of property. Mr Sewell, aged 25, of Balham, south London, also

He is the first criminal in

previous convictions dating back to 1989, Mr Mediand said. But unique in each individual - le police to make an acetate-base mould of him.

1

Connery denied knighthood

Lawrence Donegan

ham City song) and even the rugby THE actor and Scottish National ist supporter, Sean Connery, The French are not great terrace was at the centre of a political row singers. Their supporters' associalast weekend after it emerged he had been denied a knighthood betion had to launch a nationwide competition to find a chant for cause of remarks he made about do-France 98 two weeks ago. The cenmestic violence towards women, tre of crowd chanting is generally

accepted as Marseille, where Enginsisting a concerted effort was under way to smear the Edinburgh-Given the perennial problems born actor, government sources tax exile?" with referees during the World Cup, confirmed that Mr Connery had students may care to note that the been recommended for the honour French traditionally yell "Aux by the previous Tory administration chiottes, l'arbitre" (Down the bog, but refuted claims that his name was withdrawn by Scottish Office referee) when a decision goes ministers shortly after taking office | gest that an "open-handed slap" was | out of context. "What is happening is | against because of his politics."

last May because of his political af-

"Politics had nothing to do with it," one source said. "There is the question of his attitude towards doinestic violence . . . Mr Connery's past remarks on this issue are dubious, to say the very least. In addition, what sort of message would it With the Scottish National Party have sent out if a Labour government a concerted effort was ment, newly in office, was to hand out a knighthood to a well-known

it is understood ministers were disturbed by remarks made by the 67-year-old actor in an interview with Vanity Fair magazine in 1993, during which he appeared to sug- said that the remarks had been taken: famous son has been discriminate

domestic situations "Sometimes there are women

who take it to the wire. That's what they're looking for, the ultimate confrontation. They want a smack . . . an open-handed slap is justified if all alternatives fail and there has been plenty of warning. If a woman is a bitch, or hysterical, or bloodyminded continually, then I'd do it," Mr Connery said. The former James Bond star was

recommended for a knighthood for services to the arts. But after last May's election, objections were made by the new Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar and the Scottish arts minister, Sam Galbraith. The SNP leader, Alex Salmond,

Connery: was he the victim,

spin-doctoring affempt to smea Sean Connery and to concest the simple truth - that Scotland's most

Cannabis 'is safer than alcohol or cigarettes'

I NITED NATIONS health chiefs nabis is safer than either alcohol or tobacco, according to a report last

A World Health Organisation re-port published in December was to have concluded that even if cannabis were consumed on the same scale as cigarettes and whisky, It would probably still be safer than

The comparison with alcohol and tobacco, the suppressed passage said, was made "not to promote one drug over another but rather to minimise double standards that have operated in appraising the health effects of cannabis".

The disputed passage was leaked to New Scientist after it was withdrawn, reportedly in response to

reduce the list to below the figure it

had inherited. That would have

been achieved "at the next elec-

tion". The NHS would also meet the

commitment he gave last November

that, by the end of March, no patient

would have been waiting longer

A snapshot survey last month had

shown that 80 per cent of those wait-

ing 18 months already had treat-

ment dates before the end of March.

"That is the kind of progress we are

The figures will be used by health

ministers to press the Treasury for

more money for the NHS next year.

Reports have suggested they are

asking for an extra £500 million.

which would make a total of £2 bil-

lion a year more since the election.

Dr Sandy Macara, chairman of the British Medical Association,

said: 'The fact that the figures are

rising despite the best efforts of NHS staff, despite the extra winter

committed to achieving," he said.

than 18 months.

at the last moment, says the maga-zine New Scientist. the UN International Drug Control Programme. It says: "In developed Programme, It says: "In developed societies cannabis appears to play little role in injuries caused by violence as does alcohol." It also says there is good evidence that alcohol can harm foetal development, while the evi-dence that cannabis can harm foetal evelopment is "far from conclusive"

The WHO report does admit that, like heavy drinking, smoking marijuana can produce psychosis in sus-

But one lung disease researcher, Donald Tashkin of the University of California at Los Angeles, found that volunteers who smoked three joints a day had much the same lung capacity and function as those who smoked none, However, dope smokers inhale deeply and hold the smoke in the lungs, so they got a large dose of potentially damaging tar. One in five reported suffering from phlegm and bouts of bronchitis.

cancers of the aerodigestive tract.

The leaked UN report comes at a time of renewed pressure to think pressure from the United States Na-tional Institute on Drug Abuse and cannabis smoking may contribute to of Lords committee is to begin its

own inquiry into decriminalisation and former chiefs of both Scotland Yard and Merseyside drug squads nave called for legalisation.

Marijuana is widely used as a therapy for Aids sufferers in the states of California and Arizona. which have ruled that doctors may prescribe the drug, in defiance of federal law. The drug has been known to relieve the symptoms of laucoma, and to suppress the pain elt by multiple sclerosis sufferers. It was widely used in childbirth in the last century, and it has also been re-commended as a palliative for those undergoing chemotherapy.

NHS waiting list nears record 1.3m

David Brindle

INISTERS last week stopped blanning the Conservatives' legacy for the continuing rise in hospital waiting lists as the Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, admitted that the latest figures were bad.

As the waiting list for England rose by 4.5 per cent in a quarter to a new record approaching 1.3 million, Mr Dobson said: "I have got to take some responsibility for them."

However, the increase was predictable because he had ordered the NHS to give priority to emergency and urgent cases this winter. If you are dealing with the emergencies, you can't generally speaking put as much effort into the waiting-list cases."

The figures, dated at December

31, are doubly embarrassing for the Government. One of Labour's five "early pledges", made before the general election, was to "cut NHS waiting lists by treating an extra 100,000 patients".

In fact, the total list has risen by almost 108,000 since the election Moreover the number of patients waiting more than a year is rising rapidly — up 19 per cent in a quar-ter to 68,300 at the end of December. Of those, 974 had been queuing more than 18 months, in breach of the Patient's Charter guarantee. Mr Dobson insisted that the Gov-

S CIENTISTS last week her alded a breakthrough after unearthing further proof that the

reading and spelling disability

dyslexia is a genetic condition.

A common strand of DNA has

been located in parents and chil-

dren suffering from the condi-

tion — proving it is hereditary.
"We think this is a break-

through," said John Stein, pro-

fessor of physiology at Oxford university, who, with Tony

Ionaco of the Wellcome Trust

lucting the research. "It

makes it quite clear that dyslexis

is a hereditary condition and not purely psychological." Prof Stein and his colleague

carried out DNA tests on more

than 400 people in 90 families with one dyslexic parent and at least two dyslexic children.

They found the approximate site of a gene associated with

dyslexia, and then discovered

Centre for Human Genetics, in

Sarah Hali

Dyslexia is hereditary

money and despite the mild weather, simply highlights the urgent need to improve the financial John Maples, the shadow health secretary, said the next figures would "worsen considerably". He added: "By May, Labour will have been running the NHS for nearly a year and will have no excuses for the appalling distress and suffering that these waits are causing for patients."

that that strand of DNA was

builds on American studies,

believe the section of chromo-

somes linked to the condition is

munity. That suggests there may

and there could be a susceptibil-

ity to attacks from antibodies,

which could be a cause of the

condition, Prof Stein said.

It is thought that up to 10 per cent of the Western world's pop-

ulation may suffer from dyslexia

"If we could develop a very

simple test to look for this genetic linkage in five- or six-year olds then there's a good chance of alleviating the problem." Prof

em said. "Even if we cannot alleviate it,

if the children know they have

this condition and are not stupid, it will make them less depressed."

Stein said.

be something unusual with the parent or child's immune system,

The researchers, whose work



Consigned to history . . . Production line workers sign the last Rover 100 - the small car originally known as the Austin Mini Metro before it was sent to the Heritage Trust museum. The Metro, launched in 1980, rescued British Leyland, which was struggling to survive in the face of competition from overseas

Jury may be out in fraud trials

more commonly found in mem-bers of the family affected by the

under a review of serious fraud rials being carried out by the Home Office, writes Dan Atkinson.

The Home Office said last week close to the genes controlling impaper also warned that denying fraud suspects the right to a jury hearing would "represent a significant depar-. ture from current practice". The proposals follow alarm at

Mr. Justice Buckley ruled there would be no second trial of Kevin, Maxwell in relation to the collapse of his father's commercial empire.

The then Serious Fraud Office director, George Staple, said that, taken with an earlier ruling order. ing prosecutors to chop big trials into several smaller ones to prevent | could appeal against the judge's deci-

NGLAND'S 900-year-old jury | Maxwell judgment effectively made it impossible to try in full allegations of serious fraud.

Last week's green paper envisages perhaps 80-85 cases a year including all those prosecuted by that millions of pounds could be cut out of the Government's legal costs out jury, should Parliament decide by dumping juries, but its green to abandon the jury system in complex cases. But a smaller number would actually be tried without a jury.
Costs could be slashed by per-

haps a quarter, the Home Office costs in serious-fraud cases and sug- estimates, in line with the expected gestions that ordinary jurors are in: | time saving of 25 days for every 100 capable of following allegations of days of trial time under the jury complex financial crime. Alarm system — a saving of nearly peaked in September 1996, when £500,000 on the 131-day Maxwell. case. The green paper forms part of a general review of white-collar

Under the proposals, the judge: would decide at a pre-trial hearing if ... other effective channels of commun the case would be heard by a jury or . cation." The result was that the la by any new system.

jurors becoming overburdened, the sion before the case got under way.

Electoral laws 'violate free speech'

Clare Dyer

THE Government will be forced to change Britain's electoral laws after a European Court of Human Rights ruling last week that they violated an anti-abortion campaigner's right to free speech.

The Strasbourg judges said laws banning ordinary citizens' spending money to promote or desigrate candidates in election campaigns breached article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which guarantees freedom of expression.

The decision was a victory for the leading anti-abortion campaigner Phyllis Bowman, executive director of the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children, She said: "For years candidates have deliberately deceived electors (when speaking about how they felt about abortion. Our leastet said how they would vote or how they had voted."

Mrs Bowman, aged 72, was charged under the 1983 Representation of the People Act with a "corrupt electoral practice" by spending £10,000 on producing election material without authorisation in Halifax, West Yorkshire, in 1992. Mrs Bowman, who had twice before been convicted for similar offences, was acquitted on the third occasion be cause the case was brought outside the 12-month time limit.

She took her case to Strasbourg, claiming damages for the "stigma, stress and anxiety" she has suffered; plus legal costs, as a result of being prosecuted. Her claim for damages was rejected, but she was awarded £1,633.64 for legal costs in Britain and £25,000 for Strasbourg costs.

The ludges said the 1983 law did not directly restrain freedom of exi pression, but it limited to £5 the amount of money "unauthorised persons", could spend on publical tions and "other means of communi cation" that might promote candidate during an election.

The limit did not prevent Mr Bowman from campaigning freely a other times. "However, this would not, in the court's view, have serve her purpose in publishing the leaflets, which was, at the very least to inform the people of Halifax about the three candidates voting record and attitudes on abortion, during the critical period when their mind were focused on their choice of reg resentative," the judgment said....

"The court was, moreover, n convinced that she had access t was "a total barrier to Mrs Bowman The Crown and defence, teams publishing information with a view to could appeal against the judge's decinfluencing the voters of Halifax; favour of an anti-abortion candidate

Find a Way

Democracy

HAIRMAN Jesse Helms, always

Courtly when Secretary of State Madeleine Albright comes calling, opened a recent Senate Foreign Re-

lations Committee hearing with

what he thought would be a softball

question. Two of Asia's democratic

heroes, Kim Dac-jung of South Korea and Martin Lee of Hong

Kong, have argued that Asia's cur-

rent economic crisis highlights the

need for more democracy in the re-

gion, he said. Would Madame Secre-

ary associate herself with that view?

But Madame Secretary wouldn't as-

sociate herself with that view. She

hemmed and hawed. Of course, she

did believe in democracy, she al-

lowed. But she was very concerned

at this time about the financial cri-

sis. And after all, she said, "In In-

Well, Indonesia has an election

coming up about the same way

Leonid Brezhnev used to subject

himself to the judgment of the

Soviet people. President Suharto, in

power since 1966, will be the only

candidate. And in case that leaves

too much room for error, the only

voters will be 1,000 electors, most of

them handpicked by, yes, Suharto, Albright knows this perfectly

well. Her answer was no mistake

but an accurate reflection of US pol-

icy, which, despite rhetoric to the

contrary, has been surprisingly flac-

cid when it comes to the promotion

not just from bankers' mistakes but

from a wildly corrupt system in which the rulers aren't held ac-

countable and the governed have no

way to make themselves heard.

Indonesia's financial crisis results

election coming up."

Not a tough one, you might think.

To Help

OPINION

Fred Hlatt

Kofi Annan brings back a deal that will boost the UN

THE AGREEMENT reached in Baghdad at the weekend by the United Nations Secretary-General Koff Annan is a significant achievement even before the fine print analysis begins. If it is accepted by the Security Council, it will have prevented a war whose consequences were dangerously unpredictable, yet it will have done so without conceding peace at any price. It should deliver a deal which, on the evidence of Monday, has no fatal defects and presents a reasonable chance of satisfying the interests of all parties to it. It is a tribute to Mr Annan — and an important boost to the organisation which he represents that this has been realised through his efforts. Indeed it could not have been achieved without him. It is also a mark of an agreement more likely to last that it allows all parties concerned to claim that they have emerged with their objectives and principles intact.

President Clinton and his advisers need have no problem in claiming success — if (as we hope) they concur with the agreement. The threat of force by two members of the Security Council was evidentily a very important factor, however much Iraq may now deny it. As Mr Annan told the press conference in Baghdad on Monday morning, you can do a lot with diplomacy, but a lot more if it is backed up by "firmness and force".

Saddam Hussein has agreed to deliver what he refused to when the crisis began: was that not what it was all about? There will be details in the package with which Washington will be less than happy. But the three key issues on which assurance was sought — unfettered access by the inspectors, the right to repeat visits, and the absence of a time limit - have apparently been safeguarded. If the purpose was to use force as an adjunct to diplomacy and not vice versa, Mr Clinton should be able to insist that it had its effect.

Saddam Hussein also emerges in an advantage ous position: this may seem an unjust outcome for a thuggish dictator with no redeeming features, but success in negotiations does not imply moral approbation. For a leader so often characterised as psychotic, insane or blind to normal argument, he has negotiated quite rationally from his own perspective. The crucial concession on the absence of any time limit was made in classic negotiating style right at the last moment. He will benefit from the relief of his own people, and his neighbours, that the war threat has been lifted. If he is seen to have made concessions, that will hardly harm his image either. Of course the agreement has worsened the chances of any internal challenge to his leadership - but the United States and its Gulf allies have never shown enthusiasm for venturing into that area of the unknown.

The British government may also present its own efforts in a favourable light. The British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, was quick to do so on Monday morning when he suggested that Britain had played a leading role in assembling the Security Council mandate which allowed Mr Annan to go to Baghdad. Britain also appears to have had a restraining effect on American impatience with the diplomatic track, both by asking aard questions about the purpose of any military action, and by insisting that such action would nave to be preceded by some kind of new Security Council resolution. If indeed Britain has played its raditional role of working from within to soften the ough edge of US policy, it has kept this well conealed. But we may expect to bear more about it as he crisis recedes

Will the agreement, once held up to more earching light, really come up to expectations? here are already clues in the remarks on Monday rom Mr Annan and Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister, arig Aziz, at their joint press conference. Mr innan said that it would satisfy both the "spirit" nd the "intent" of the relevant UN resolutions mplying that some details may be varied. Mr Aziz tressed that it was a "balanced" document which ad been concluded in the hope that sanctions rould be lifted soon.

Clearly the deal will embody some of the "flexiility" for which Mr Annan first called last month then he made his first diplomatic intervention. lut there is nothing wrong with being flexible if secures compliance. The burden of proof will est with Saddam Hussein to deliver. That means nat the inspectors must be able to enter the

presidential palaces with full authority, no matter how many "men in suits" may accompany them. Mr Aziz claimed on Monday that there was no problem about this — indeed that a full inspection would reveal no weapons programme and therefore hasten final resolution of the

There is a big gap between word and deed, but Saddam may be more likely to deliver what has now been committed to writing if — in the phrase widely used on Monday — there is some "light at the end of the tunnel". Here too Mr Cook may have given an important signal last Sunday when he suggested that sanctions could be lifted "in the

The person in this whole affair with the atronges claim to our approval is Kofi Annan. He waited his time on the sidelines until he judged the moment was right. He has handled the prickly constituents on both sides with skill and tact, while insisting on the integrity of the UN and its resolutions. It is a rare negotiator who can operate in such con-tentious middle ground: no previous UN secretary-general of recent years would have managed to do it. By bringing his text in person back to the UN, Mr Annan is also quite legitimately doing his best to ensure a positive reception for it while leaving the final decision to the Security Council.

If he succeeds, the UN Secretary-General will have done something to restore the authority of the United Nations, which was in danger of being bypassed by unilateral military action. This may in turn allow some of the good intentions declared after the 1990-91 Gulf war to be addressed again in the Middle East. Such as reviving the peace process, moving towards democratic governance, curbing the arms race, and putting an end to military threats from any quarter. These are remote visions at the moment, but they are surely worth encouraging after so many bad dreams.

Big bang begets big mysteries

N THE beginning, according to the second sentence of Genesis, the Earth was without form and void. Not a bad description of a process that during the past 30 years scientists have made mind-hoggling progress in understanding. We now know that the universe started from the nuclear explosion of a minute "virtual particle" of infinite density — the nearest thing to nothingness without becoming nothing.

The hig mystery is what exactly it was that happened during the first one thousandth of a second (diplomatically unmentioned by Genesis) when the future direction and shape of the universe was determined. And the most critical part, according to Stephen Hawking and his Cambridge colleague Neil Turok this week (writing in Physica Letters) is what happened in the first trillion trillion trillionth of a second. This may dictate whether the universe will go on expanding forever or whether (as rival scientists still argue) it will decelerate by enough to be caught by gravitational forces that will com-pel it to contract — an implosion that would take it over billions of years back to the minute particle whence we all came. ("Dust thou wert and to dust thou wift return.")

It is difficult enough for the lay person to grasp the fractions involved (not many school rulers measure trillion trillion trillionths), let alone what all this might be trying to tell us. Fortunately, for harmony among humankind the rival theories are sufficiently broad-church to house both atheists and believers: the former argue that we now have a complete explanation of no further, the latter that such a miracle of physics must have had an external cause.

The Hawking argument that time has a beginning but no end will make posterity sleep more soundly and ought in a small way to enhance the virtues of peacemaking and environmental control since our stewardship of the Earth can no longer be seen as temporary. Philosophers will doubtless argue over whether it is possible to talk of a notion of existence before the big bang even though scientists argue that is when time and space began. Above all, it ought to give us all a sense of infinite humility at the awesomeness of all that has been happening.

That the entire universe erupted from a minute speck, to which it could return but probably won't. will surely remain the mystery among mysteries however much scientists agree that they have found the complete explanation.

A salute to Europe's last real statesman

Hugo Young

ECEIVING the freedom of the City of London, he was being blessed with some-thing between an honorary knighthood and a virtual peerage: an immensely merited award for the only European statesman still on active service. But around the event swirled consolations for those who would have preferred it not to happen. They could persuade themselves that this was the honouring of yesterday's man, whose climactic project is, in the country to which he had come, on the wane.

In Germany, after all, his future does not look good. The German economy has ceased to be the model. Unemployment is high, growth is faltering, German social welfare is widely scorned elsewhere. The reunified territories are the seat of poverty and increasing ethnic violence. Chancellor Kohl himself, facing an election in the autumn, is in deep trouble. Many observers are backing him to lose it. The freedom of the City was perhaps a consolation prize, acceptable as such to Eurosceptics who thirst to diminish him.

In Britain, equally, he has less resonance than he used to. A year ago, Tony Blair was being perched on his knee in the Tory election ads, but now Mr Blair has pulled out of Kohl's project, economic and monetary union, for the duration. Blair's discourse makes it ever plainer that he has become a sceptic, in the strict sense of being a doubter about whether European Monetary Union (EMU) will be economically viable.

Whatever happens when EMU starts, there's now no trace of a possibility that Britain will enter in the early years. Chairing the meeting that starts it in May, Mr Blair can be no more than a helpful eunuch at the court of the inner Europeans. Was this, therefore, a meeting be tween two brands of impotence: the fading Chancellor and the self-mutilated Prime Minister? In the case of the German, that estimate would be quite false. Kohl remains an extraordinary figure.

When I saw him in the autumn. he exuded, at the age of 67, fierce and jovial energy. Though he says the election campaign will be the hardest of his life, he's quite certain EMU will not lose it for him. His coalition may, of course, be beaten although the SPD are a fragile force, feebly led, and may not be strong enough to take advantage of the CDU's manifest unpopularity but it will not be "Europe" that beats nim, and this for a reason that ex-

of Britain and of Germany. It's well attested that the euro is unpopular in Germany. One poll, recording 70 per cent against, showed it to be more unpopular than it is in Britain. Kohl, the euro's undisputed father, should therefore be in for a hammering. But he may not be. The German attitude accepts the inevitability of the euro, but shows signs of believing that the old man is the only leader to be trusted with the task of shepherding aside the beloved Deutschmark. He's the indispensable curator of his own resented creation. Far from being further proof of Germans' spineless submission to their elites. this will be construed, if Kohl wins as the ultimate accolade for the quality he has provided on great questions for 16 years: leadership such as Britain, on the issue of Europe, has not had since the war.

His talents partly lie in the practcalities of politics. No other leader n the world can have a more deailed appreciation of the strengths and frailties of his peer-group. Whether on Capitol Hill or in the olling stations of Lower Saxony. Kohl knows the state of the count A eader who proves inadequate in this department, like Jacques Chirac fatally mistiming an election is thereby lowered in his esteem A eader who owns the count by a massive majority, like Tony Blair, is greeted as one to whom all democrac leaders should show their respect.

But Kohl's impetus is also vision ary. Along with the finer points of the Italian voting system come the lessons in history. The Chancellor's table-talk begins with the second world war and ends with German reunification. Memories of his own youth, breaking across the Franco-German border, never die. He was happy, in the early post-war days, to salute the tricolore three times for every once he saluted the German flag. Now, his visits to what was East Germany elicit his powerful sympa thetic imagination for the drama of democracy, and the people who still cannot get used to what it means for

Such talk of history is terribly unashionable in Britain. Its message provokes only discomfort, so much so that many people are inclined to discount its relevance now. When he spoke of his desire to end war for ever in Europe, Kohl was derided, by more than one minister in the last British government, as a warmonger for his very mention of the subject. It was as if these Tories be lieved that the bloody history of the nation state was a malign distraction from the truly serious business of maintaining the nation state, come what may, in the modern era.

AST WEEK the City, whether consciously or not, celebrated the opposite proposition. was a rare occasion when the City showed itself wiser than the politicians. To have received the German chancellor in this way was not only a merciful forgetting of the last war, it was a demonstration of confidence in the sort of Europe he stands for a rare display of largeness from a British Institution, in a country whose politicians, even in a government honestly dedicated to transforming relations with Europe, find such largeness frightening.

poses the gulf between the politics What is the test by which Mr Blair might fulfil the hopes Kohl undoubtedly reposes in him? Perhaps we'll know he has passed when he goes to the House of Commons and elther proposes an action, or disclaims one, for the reason that it will: be good, or bad, for European unity. That would be a revolutionary mo ment. I don't believe any prime minister has ever done it. It's a thought too alarming to contemplate, it leaders of a country whose enlire stance in the world has nevertheless been rooted, for 25 years, in belonging to Europe. But it's the challenge that Kohl, vibrantly present and far from dead, laid down

The Washington Post

Annan's Deal Puts Clinton on the Spot

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

AVING assembled a mighty force to strike Iraq, Clinton administration officials this week began grappling with the potentially awkward question of how to react if a United Nationsbrokered diplomatic deal with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein meets ome, but not all, US demands.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright received a "short but not comprehensive briefing" from UN Secretary General Kofi Annan on arrangements that he worked out during two days of intense negotiations with Saddam and top Iraqi officials, according to a State Department spokesman. "We're awaiting the details before we can discuss them," he added.

Despite assurances from an man spokesman in Baghdad that the agreement was "positive", the absence of specifics gave rise to concerns within the administration that Annan might have agreed to onditions on access to suspected traqi weapons sites that will be unacceptable to the United States.

President Clinton and British rime Minister Tony Blair spoke by telephone twice last Sunday and agreed "there can be no concessions" to Iraq over weapons inspections, according to a British

In a series of interviews on television, top Clinton administration officials stressed repeatedly that Saddam must allow "full and unfettered access" to Iraqi sites by qualified UN inspectors, without conditions and with no limits on the number of visits. Any deviation from this requirement, which is written into UN resolutions, would be unacceptable and would leave the mililary option open, they indicated. "He [Saddam] has to back down,"

Albright said on ABC's This Week. There's no question. He has to re-



with something that we don't like, in which case we will pursue our national interests."

Such an outcome, sources said, could be the worst possible one for the Clinton administration, further eroding international support for US military action while deepening a split over Iraq policy at home.

The Clinton administration al ready must balance a complex and conflicting - mix of domestic and foreign pressures as it weighs its next steps in Iraq. Administration sources said that the job could be made even more difficult if Annan returns with "a deal that gets us 95 per cent of the loaf,"

Officials worry that such a result could make it far more difficult, diplomatically, for the US to defend airstrikes, yet could enable Saddam to continue hiding weapons of mass

destruction, or even free him to rebuild his arsenal after the immediate threat has passed. Internationally, only Britain and

Australia have joined the US-led military build-up in the Persian Gulf. Clinton enjoys considerable support at home for strong military action against Iraq, but a Newsweel poll released last week showed minmal support for limited airstrikes. Thirty-nine per cent favored the

diplomatic approach.
The divisions in US opinion were made plain to President Clinton when he and Hillary Rodham Clinton attended services at the Foundry United Methodist Church n Washington. Inside, Bishop Fel ton May urged the president to face up to "the bullies of the world". But when the Clintons walked out, sev-

eral dozen protesters chanted, "Mr.

role over recent days carries notential political dangers for Clinton.

"It is ridiculous for us to make a serious matter of national interest hostage to negotiations conducted by the secretary general of the United Nations," said William Kristol, a conservative commentator who was chief of staff to former vice president Dan Quayle. "Nothing good is going to come of this. Sad-dam Hussein is going to win a very big victory this week."

But Albright denied the Annan mission had disrupted US policy.

"It is my understanding [that Annan) will come back and report to the Security Council, and then the Security Council will discuss it. We obviously have a veto there. And we are part of that process. If we don't like it, we will make that very clear," she said.

Such a system can't be reformed overnight, and few people are sug-gesting that Albright march into Suharto's office to demand his resignation. But the US could insist on political reforms that would allow the emergence of democratic institutions and pave the way for a peaceful, post-Suharto transition reforms like permitting the formation of new political parties, allowing campaigning at a village level and removing the justice ministry's

of democracy

power to shut newspapers at will. "Everyone knows it would be difficult," says Sidney Jones, Asia director for Human Rights "But you've got to find a way to do it, or you're going to be in much greater trouble later on "

". It's not just that slighting democracy is immoral, a betrayal of courageous people in countries fighting for freedom. It's also dumb. In the long run, the nations of Central Asia and the Caucasus won't be stable if a few despots are permitted to siphon off the oil money, leaving most people desperately poor.

. America should seek not only economic restructuring from Asia's teetering autocratic regimes, but substantial political reform as well." This was the statement of Martin Lee cited by Senator Helms, It's a view that American officials ought to be proud to endorse.

Fujimori's One-Man Fight Against El Nino

Anthony Falola In Ica, Peru

MID the stench of stagnant A flood water, President Alberto Fujimori, flanked in the sweltering night by three security men packing pistols and flashlights, pushed his way through a mass of humanity toward the overflowing riverbank. Clad in blue jeans and Caterpillar work boots, he leaped onto a mound to men fixing broken dikes.

"No, not that way!" Fujimori city on Peru's arid central coast. But mori, the first man of Japanese haps more than any other country on the globe. El Nino has caused a dead and hundreds of thousands homeless — and giving Fulimori a new lease on political life. The ultimate crisis president, who gained world fame last year by directing the assault that took back the Japanese ambassador's home in Lima | Fujimori has tried to create in the | suit of personal glory. After a dike is

from terrorists, has found himself | midst of El Nino's assault on Peru, once again in his element, so to

Fujimori, 58, is the consummate control freak, a bookish professor who has risen to become a president with a penchant for derring do. He took visible pleasure in the Japanese ambassadorial residence when walking among the bodies of terrorists whom his commandos, on took a moment to assess | his orders, had moved the situation, then belted out orders | moments before. He is the same man who sent MiG fighter planes toward the Equadoran border even yelled over the din of a roaring river as Peru and its neighbor were negon what was, until recently, a desert | tiating a territorial dispute. Fuji-

that was before the arrival of the descent to hold a presidency outweather phenomenon known as El | side Japan, is, to sum it up, a Peru-Nino, which has battered Peru per vian Patton without the uniform — a man who insists on being in charge. "You've got to put big rocks here," nationwide crisis of freak floods and shouted Fujimori, a trained engineer mudelides, leaving more than 100 and mathematician. "Not just [dirt]. It won't be enough to hold. Move the big rocks here! Now!"....

"Mr Presidenti" called out an old woman. With your help, we will

That, at least, is the impression

the nation at ground zero in the path of the chaotic weather pattern. After flinging his weight against guerrilla movements, opponents in congress and even his own military, Fujimori this time has thrown himself into

ne man struggle against nature. He has seized control of the relief effort here, travelling to disaster sites almost daily. And his popularmonths when he was perceived to be curbing democracy, is rising with the flood waters. with Fujimori, from the Ecuadoran border to the southern desert re-

gion, offered an extraordinary look by El Nino. at a controversial leader who is national rescue effort, and without whose presence the undertaking seems often to come unhinged. For good or ill, he is directing almost everything, right down to calculating the number of potatoes needed

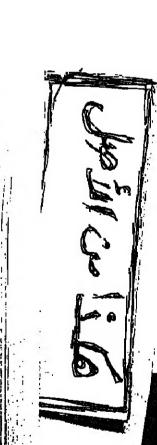
in communal kitchens. Fullmorl's zeal has brought scathing criticism from those who say he may be acting chiefly in pur-

fixed, for example, or shelters for the hordes of newly homeless are in place, a sign usually pops up ex-plaining that residents have the office of the presidency to thank. "He has used El Nino for political reasons." said Harold Forsyth, an opposition congressman. "He's doing it

all for the cameras."

But others, especially the poores people in devastated towns, cheer him as a president who isn't afraid to get his hands dirty. Six months ago, his public approval rating fell to 27 per cent after he took steps to consolidate his power, removing judges from the constitutional tri ounal who said he could not seek a Forty-eight hours on the road third term. But polls now show his approval rating at 42 per cent in Lima and higher in areas deluged

"What do they want me to do, overseeing minute details of the stay in the government palace with my tie and suit?" Fujimori asked aboard the presidential plane en : route to inspect flood damage in the northern town of Tumbes. "No, no, no. I won't do it. They can talk about me all they want, but I'm the one with dirty boots making sure we are managing this problem. Everyone who is criticizing me isn't out here - it's me. I am the one fighting El



distance there. If you talk to him at

all, the unspoken mutual concern is:

Don't say anything that will get you

in trouble. Don't say anything that

The burden this situation places

on Clinton's friends only exacer-

bates the sense of separation they

feel from the president anyway sim-

ply because of the distance between

his office and the rest of the world.

One Arkansas friend said she felt a

bit more removed from Clinton year

by year. "He is absolutely a more

lonely figure," she said. "I think the

longer anyone is president, the less

possible it becomes for even the

closest of friends to be totally them-

selves, totally relaxed and natural."

Other friends noticed that Clinton

seemed ever more circumspect.

having come to realize that almost

anything he says will become public

- the notion that everyone leaks,

None of the people around him, nor any of his lifelong friends, can

know the pressures that a president

faces, and none of them can know

his deepest fears and insecurities,

not even the lawyers he confides in

these days. In that sense, he has no

peers, only predecessors. Thomas

Jefferson said the presidency brings

"nothing but drudgery and a daily loss of friends." Woodrow Wilson

said he "never dreamed such loneli-

ness and desolation of heart possi-

ble." William Howard Taft called the

even good friends.

will get me in trouble.

Canada Gets Its Week in Court imposed unilaterally so it can unilaterally oppose democracy," he said. The right to choose — their gov

Howard Schneider in Ottawa

OR 400 years, the people of this northern land have argued over the place French culture has in Canada. Over the past 30, they have fought over whether the mostly French-speaking province of Quebec should settle the matter for good by becoming an

independent state. Last week, Canada's Supreme Court opened a hearing that began by delving into the philosophical and legal roots of nationhood and could end with the court specifying some ground rules for the country's disintegration.

Though the question of whether the court's eventual decision will have any effect on the aspirations of Quebec or any other province re-mains wide open, the hearing has sparked strong feelings throughout Canada. The court proceedings as part of the dance that goes on between Quebec sovereigntists and the rest of the country - are characterized as either a high-minded exercise in constitutional democracy or a base ploy by Ottawa to convince Quebecers that they would be breaking the law if they tried to secede.

It is also proof that this country has made little if any progress toward reconciliation since an October 1995 referendum in which Quebec separatists came within a

Wrestlers

Break the

Ice in Iran

did playing ping-pong in China.

cious hosts.

few thousand votes of a victory that | the Canadian court's practice of ocwould have set the stage for their own declaration of independence.

If anything, relations are at a low, Even some pro-Canada forces in Quebec are angry about the federal government's use of the Supreme Court for what they feel are blatantly political ends; meanwhile the province's separatist premier, Lucien Bouchard, is riding high in public opinion for his management of the devastation wrought by a recent ice storm, and sovereigntists have been bashing Ottawa for everything from refusing to pay for storm cleanup to not providing enough Frenchlanguage presentations during Canada's activities on the opening

day of the Winter Olympics in Japan. There is even speculation that Bouchard, a master of political gambits, might stage a provincial election and follow-up referendum on sovereignty this spring, though continuing budget problems and upcoming labor negotiations make

"There is a lot of tension in the air," said Yves Fortier, the lead lawyer for the federal government in the Supreme Court hearings. To begin with, the issue is, in some fundamental sense, beyond the court's reach: Imagine the US Supreme Court in the 1860s telling the nascent Confederacy that it was unconstitutional to fire on Fort Sumter.

The current hearings are part of

ernment or their future — belongs to the Quebecois. It does not belong to the government."

casionally accepting what are, in essence, hypothetical "references"

that ask for non-binding guidance on the country's constitution.

In this case, the federal govern-

ment 18 months ago asked the nine-

member panel to answer questions

about any move by Quebec to

separate - whether, either under

Canada's constitution or international

law, Quebec could leave Canada

without the agreement of either the

federal government or the provinces

The federal government argues

that the answer is no and that any

separation would require a constitu-

tional amendment approved by the

Quebec, in another demonstra-

tion of the divide on this issue, has

refused even to participate in the hearings on the grounds that the

province's sovereignty is a political

ssue for Quebecers to decide on

their own. The terms of separation

could perhaps be negotiated with

the rest of Canada - that's what

sovereigntist leaders have said is

their intent - but it certainly would

Bouchard emphasized that in a

or a constitutional amendment.

rest of Canada.

never even ratified.

That sentiment is shared many federalists in Quebec as well and their willingness to say so publicly has raised concerns that what looked like a strong ploy by Prime Minister Jean Chretien to stand up for Canada may backfire. The existence of the case is part of

the harder line toward the sovereignty movement that Ottawa has slowly adopted since the 1995 referendum. After largely ignoring the separatist threat in advance of that vote - and nearly losing it - Chretien now has government lawyers developing arguments about the conditions under which a country's uthority over its territory take precedence over demands by individ

ual groups for "self-determination." A decision is not expected until ummer or fall — and even then, it is unclear what practical effect the court's advice will have. As Fortier and other government lawyers acknowledge, along with politicians like Dion, if Quebecers make a clear they will be allowed to do so.

not be governed by the strictures of a constitution that the province has speech before a cheering University Montreal crowd last month. "Otduni, a Canadian prime minister tawa is asking judges it appoints uniwould call on the military, for examlaterally to rule on a constitution it ple, to enforce the constitution.

political decision to leave Canada, Having won a referendum, for example, no separatist leader in Quebec is likely to defer to the Canadian Supreme Court; conversely, it is improbable that, having lost a referen-

> U.S. officials in Seoul said Kin Yong-sun is a top-ranking official in charge of North-South relations, so his statements are seen as the offcial position of the North Korean government and its reclusive leader, Kim Jong-II. Officials said such conciliatory remarks from North Korea are rare, and following up with hand-delivered letters

nearly unheard of, North Korea's gestures came

Since his election in December,

Dialogue between the two ns tions was unthinkable even a year ago, when a North Korean subaurine full of spies ran aground in the South, raising tensions so high that Kim Young-sam raised the possibil ity of "all-out war".

of massive food shortages. The United Nations recently appeals for \$415 million in donations for food and medical supplies Although many aid workers have been allowed into North Kors

North Korea Sends Seoul Billets-Doux

Mary Jordan in Tokyo

ORTH KOREA made a remail able gesture of peace to South Korea last week, sending kien across the fortified border that old dialogue between political parties and civic groups in each country.

The offer appears to be a response to conciliatory gestures from Seoul, diplomats and analysis said.

In letters sent through Red Cross officials at the truce village of Promunjom along the most militarized border in the world, North Kare said it sought to thaw frozen diplomatic ties between the two nations who have been bitter adversaries for half a century.

The 70 or so letters - addressed to president-elect Kim Dae-jung and other political and civic leaders seek "dialogue between the political parties and civic groups" in each country, although it was unclear exactly what sort of talks North Korea envisioned.

North Korean Workers' Party Secretary Kim Yong-sun was quoted by the official Korean Central News Agency as saying, We are willing to have a dialogue and negotiation with anyone in South Korea, including political parties and organizations.

days before South Korea swore in Kim Dac-jung as president on Feb ruary 25. Dae-jung has made a series of proposals that suggest he will be far more willing to engage the North Koreans than the hawkish former president Kim Young-sam.

Kim Dae-jung has called for direct talks with North Korea, an exchange of envoys and the revocation of laws forbidding South Koreans from receiving North Korean radio and television broadcasts. Kim Dae-jung said he would even consider a face-to-face meeting with Kim Jong-il.

Since then, South Korean attention has turned largely inward, with a catastrophic economic collapse causing turmoil that has put discus sion of North-South relations on the back-burner. Many observer thought North Korea would try lo capitalize more on the South's economic problems; instead, it has stayed noticeably quiet and shown increasing willingness to deal with Kim Dae-jung. North Korea itself is in the mid



ILL CLINTON, as he struggles to survive the most serious crisis of his career, has become a study in presidential lone-

His life was built on two things words and friends - that suddenly seem of less use to him. In public. he has offered up few words to explain the mess he is in, and in private, almost none of his legion of friends is willing or able to hear him say much more. The president who once chaled at the confinements of his job by calling the White House the crown jewel in the American penal system" is now confronted by he prisoner's paradox; an existence n which he is rarely by himself and yet always alone.

Clinton's aversion to being alone has been a defining trait of his life. As a teenager in Arkansas, he invited friends to his house just to watch him finish a crossword puzzle. During these last few perilous weeks, he has engaged in his customary pursuit of crowds and reassurance. He brings friends in for popcorn and a movie. He dances past midnight with celebrities at a state dinner. He lingers wistfully at a midday farewell party for a longtime White House aide. He rallies with Democratic troops on Capitol Hill. He heads to the heartland to touch hands along the rope line. He sifts through stacks of supportive letters and dissects internal polls indicating the public is with him.

But something is different in friend for a few days during the crisis, these last weeks since the allegabut he has his own country to run. tions of presidential sex and perjury broke, according to interviews with friends, aides and associates from silent deputy counsel, a longtime friend from Arkansas, but Lindsey is all parts of Clinton's life. All presidents operate in a bubble of agents than confidant. He is there to play hearts with the president and do and aides, but the distance that inevitably separates even this most gregarious of presidents from the rest of humanity has become greater, his sense of isolation more noticeable.

things have changed is the fact that Clinton's most intimate conversa tions seem to be with his legal coun selors. These men, including Mickey Kantor, Robert S. Bennett, David E. Kendall and Charles F.C. Ruff, have little in common except their client but, to varying degrees, they have become not only the president's lawyers but also his brothers, confidants, psychiatrists. If he has not told them everything, they apparently have heard more than nyone, including Hillary Rodham linton, in some matters. To one or more of them, he has offered details ife involving Paula Jones. Whitewater and Monica S. Lewinsky. When he is frustrated, confused, feeling like a wounded animal, he is most likely to turn to them to talk about it. The conversations might never come around to his present predicament, out will calm him down.

That his lawyers have emerged s his closest confidents now is largely a matter of pragmatism. As one person close to the situation said bluntly: "Who the hell else is he going to talk to? He is not going to talk to Hillary about some of this

Vice President Gore has declared himself the president's loyal friend and made it clear that he does not los Angeles radio station, Hillary really want to know the details. Ver-

the role of brother-confessor in the past, but now, caught up in the Lewinsky investigation himself, he George Stephanopoulos, the forhas had to keep a certain distance. mer aide who once spent more time It did not go unnoticed that Jordan. a regular at White House functions,

at Clinton's side than anyone, and often shuddered in private with worst-case scenarios of his boss, now shares them on television with the whole nation. He has said that he never felt like a Clinton confidant or peer in any case. Other aides of his generation who stayed in the White House after Stephanopoulos left now plot tactics and strategies for the president without having a clue, they acknowledge, about what ne did or how he really feels.

Erskine B. Bowles, the chief of staff, has shown a disinclination for personal controversy and has tried to keep the White House going as

Among the other Arkansas friends who came to Washington with him, discarded in his post-prison days.

Clinton's pit bull consultants, are more concerned with learning about Clinton's adversaries than in dealing with the truth and consequences of their own man. He has never bared his soul to them. The discredited political mastermind, Dick Morris, banished for his own sexual transgressions, is one telephone call away from working his way back into Clinton's vortex, but has been in temporary exile again since he offered up the hypothetical explanation of the president's behavior: Perhaps, he theorized to a

though Monica Lewinsky and Ken-neth W. Starr dld not exist. Michael McCurry, the press secretary, has announced to the clamoring press pack that on these issues he is determinedly and safely out of the loop. Friends of Bill from Hot Springs, Fayetteville and Little Rock have tried to support him as best they can.

In almost every case, the explanation they offer is the same one that applies to McCurry, McLarty and others close to the president professionally or personally — they are worried about getting caught in the tangled web of Clinton investigations. Every conversation with their friend comes with the unspoken subtext of potential legal bills, especially since Starr, the Independent counsel, has shown such aggression in hauling people before his

than ever for all of us," said one longtime friend from Arkanses. "When you see that everybody who is a friend or close to him has been. subpoenaed, investigated, written

Given Warm Welcome

Steven Mufson in Beiling

ON THE eve of meeting Chinese President Jiang Zemin, the Rev. Don Argue asked his wife in the United States to pray for a successful meeting. She faxed him a quote from the Bible to bolster his spirits.

In fact, no prayers were needed. Argue, New York-based Rabbi Arthur Schneier and Roman Catholic Archbishop Theodore Mc-Carrick of Newark are here on a three-week trip that is more a diplomatic mission than a religious one. Dispatched by President Clinton as a result of the Jiang-Clinton summit last year to investigate restrictions on religious freedoms in China, the three cleries met for more than an hour with the Chinese leader, who

treated them as visiting dignitaries. Jiang told the cleries their arrival had come at an auspicious time because it coincided with the Lantern Festival, celebrated on the first full moon after the Chinese new year. Schneier, who gave liang a Chineselanguage encyclopedia of Judaism published in Shanghai, replied that the psalmist David wrote, "The Lord has created this day, let us rejoice."

It remains in dispute whether the situation of Chinese believers today is a matter for rejoicing.

Compared with the tunsultuous Cultural Revolution of 1966-76. when priests were put in labor camps or solitary confinement and Buddhist and Taoist temples were defaced by marauding Red Guards, religious conditions today seem great. Millions of Bibles are printed. hundreds of sites of religious worship have been restored, and religious observance has received the clessing of the Communist Party.

But there is a catch. Religious activity must take place under the umbrella of "patriotic" religious or-ganizations registered with the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council and the Communist Party's United Front Work Department, No. religious figure can claim authority igher than that of the Communis

For those who transgress those guidelines, punishment awaits. One Vatican loyalist, Bishop Zeng Jingmu, 77, from Fuzhou in Jianexi province, is in his third year in a reeducation comp. human rights groups report. He is one of at least 29 jailed Catholic leaders. Dozens of Protestants are also in detention. And somewhere in northern Beijing, an 8-year-old boy is detained because Tibetan Buddhists believe that he is the reincarnation of the White House "the loneliest place in | Panchen Lama, their leader.

With rising concern in Congress about religious restrictions here, the cierics are seen as providing political cover for the Clinton administration while it continues to forge warmer relations with Beijing. But the visit also serves a political purpose for China. The meeting with Jiang was aniashed on the front pages of newspapers and displayed on the evening state-run news program.

· The clerics refused to say whether it will meet any underground church members, but that would be difficult given the presence of Chinese security police.

"We're going to get heat when we get back to the States," Argue acknowledged. 'People will say we sold out to the [Chinese] system. But we haven't to one degree."



revolution of 1979 wiped the mat

with their hosts. The five Americans won nine of 12 head-to-head tussles with Iranians on the 50-member team tha their country sent into the freestyle competition. Until the last night, an American wrestler had lost only once to an Iranian in two days.

compete in Iran since the Islamic

The hosts could have felt they got even in the final round by winning two close matches, including the tournament's featured and final clash between heavyweight rivals who met in a disputed contest in Toronto five years ago.

"It's better if the other side wins. said John Marks, director of Search for Common Ground, a Washington-based group that has promoted American participation in the tournament as an opening to improved US-Iranian relations.

The American wrestlers and 12,000 flag-waying, chanting Irani show friendship between American to avoid inflaming anti-American ans played the role of the ambas-

->- TB...

sadors that their countries have not | We've been treated like royalty." exchanged since Islamic militants attacked the US embassy here in 1979, taking 52 hostages whom they held for 444 days.

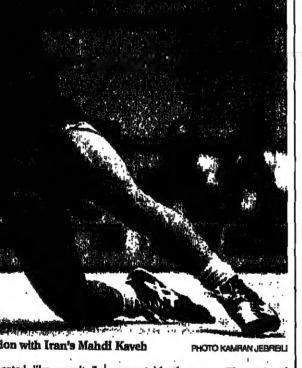
Zeke Jones, a peppy 120-pounder from Chandler, Arizona, cheered when he entered the packed arena to receive a secondplace medal. Then Jones, whose first name Iranians pronounced "Zakie", brought the all-male crowd to its feet with a roar when he raised a small Iranian flag over his head from a corner of Freedom Sports Arena. Jones, 31. said he made the gesture "to

After winning his championship match, Kevin Jackson, a 1992 Olympic silver medal-winner from Gilbert, Arizona, hugged the Iranian

he had just defeated. At other moments, tensions were apparent. Shawn Charles, a 140pounder from Mount Pleasant. Michigan, lost a third-place match based on penalties that baffled him when they were called. "I don't believe it," an equally baffled Iranian muttered in English when Charles's opponent was declared the winner.

The award ceremony was altered wreatlers and the people of Iran.... sentiment among conservative Irani-

for failing a drug test. ladidi. Iran's best wrestler, won



Fighting to win friends: Shawn Charles, left, in action with Iran's Mahdi Kaveh

ans outside the arena. The national flag of champions was not raised, nor was their national anthem played.

The tournament was capped by a rematch of 215-pounders Melvin Douglas of Mesa, Arizona, and Abbas Jadidi, who won the silver medal at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. At the 1993 world championahips in Toronto, Jadidi defeated Douglas but was later disqualified

again. After Jadidi twisted Douglas around by the legs to triumph in and walked off the mat with their parts of the country remain of limits. overtime, the wrestlers embraced

Clinton's way. Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty, another Arkansas pal in The surest evidence of how much 'I think the longer anyone is president, the less possible it becomes for even the closest of friends to be totally relaxed and natural.'

the White House, said recently that he seeks to be "supportive" of his friend "in good times and bad," but that Clinton has not sought his ear. deputy counsel Vincent W. Foster Jr. is long dead from suicide and the hulking Webster L. Hubbell, former associate attorney general, who served hard time for double-billing his old law firm, has been quietly

was off the list at the February 5

state dinner for British Prime Minis-

ter Tony Blair. Blair proved a fine

Clinton has always felt comfort-

able with Bruce Lindsey, his ghostly

more the fixer and loyal servant

whatever needs to be done to ease

James Carville and Paul Begala,

but they have felt a certain distance.

But Clinton had spent his life preparing to be president. That his friends are of less help to him now is not entirely a surprise. Before he came to Washington, he left one family friend behind, and in that moment there was an odd foreshadowing of all the troubles that would follow him. On his final day in Little Rock before heading east for his inauguration in 1993, Clinton jogged. federal grand jury.
"This last month has been harder from the governor's mansion; carry-

ing a shoe box under his arm. Inside was a small frog.

When he reached the Arkansas River, Clinton scrambled down and released the frog. The creature, he explained, would forgo the move really want to know the details. Vernon E. Jordan Jr. might have served tions, compelling her husband to kind of artificial protective sort of it can live a normal life," east and remain in Arkansas, where



GUARDIAN WEEKLY

TTILL Nigeria's educated

they do English? The announce

ment a year ago by the country's leader, General Sani Abacha, that

he intended to make French its sec-

ond language was logical enough:
Nigeria, Africa's most populated
nation, is surrounded by Frenchspeaking countries over which it al-

and, indirectly, military influence.

The amount of money earmarked

for education has just been in-meased sharply, making it the bud-get's biggest single item this year, shead of defence. In January the

government announced that it was

elting up three colleges specialis-

ing in the teaching of French near the federal capital, Abuja.

This overt friendliness towards Paris, one of the Nigerian leaders'

favounts stopover cities (where the national oil company, the Nigerian

National Petroleum Company, re-

unily transferred its European leadquarters from London), con-

vasts with the regime's frosty atti-wde towards Britain, the country's

This has been particularly true

ince Tony Blair became British

prime minister last year. His Labour

government has adopted an uncom-

romising line towards Abuja over

The Nigerian leadership has, on the other hand, behaved in a more

conciliatory manner towards the United States since the appointment

France seeks

to kill speed

on the road

N 1972 almost 17,000 peo-

ple died on French roads. In

1997 the figure was 8,000. It

took a quarter of a century to baive that tragic statistic. Road

safety, improved car safety fea-ures, better roads, the punish-ment of bad driving and a better

compared with this list, which

represents a straightforward dif-

Plerre Georges

semer colonial ruler.

classes eventually speak French as fluently as

A Little War With Big Consequences

H.W. Brands

EMPIRE BY DEFAULT Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century By Ivan Musicant Henry Holt. 740 pp. \$35

AR IS HELL. William Tecumseh Sherman knew it and succinctly said so. Valeriano Weyler, a Spanish military attache during the Civil War who admired Sherman, knew it and, sent to Cuba 30 years later to suppress a revolt there, wondered at complaints of his harsh tactics. "How do they want me to wage war?" he asked. "With bishops' pastorals and presents of sweets and money?" William McKinley knew it. The last American president to have served in the Civil War, McKinley remembered that conflict clearly. "I have been through one war," he declared. "I have seen the dead piled up, and I do not want to see another.

Theodore Roosevelt didn't know it. A child during the Civil War, he had experienced battle only vicariously, through the tales of friends and relatives and through adventure stories that enabled a sickly boy to transcend his infirmities via litera-ture. William Randolph Hearst didn't know it — although given his willingness to subordinate principle to circulation, such knowledge probably wouldn't have altered his incendiary editorializing during the crucial months that led to the Spanish-American War. Most Americans of Roosevelt's and Hearst's generation didn't know it, the population of the country having doubled since Appomatox. Their ignorance goes far to explain their eagerness for war in 1898, in keeping with the observable fact that wars in American history occur roughly once per gen-

Ivan Musicant knows that war is hell, but he also knows that it makes a hell of a story. And in Empire By Default he does a wonderful job



thy of Roosevelt. His portraits of the principals in the Spanish-American War are forthright and frequently provocative; his depictions of the events are vivid, occasionally moving. This is a long book about a short war, yet only at the end, when the author piles on a bit too much detail about the diplomacy of the peace negotiations, does the dra-matic tension dissipate.

telling it. He writes with a vigor wor- | classes: those who like ships and | those who prefer their fighting on the ground. Musicant, the author of three previous naval histories (and one history of American intervention in Central America), clearly leans to the watery mode. His account of the destruction of the Maine on February 15, 1898 is graphic without being ghoulish; his

Charles Vernon Gridley's left hand (the right being reserved to acknowledge the famous fire-whenready order from Dewey); his treatment of the hunt for Spanish vice-admiral Pascual Cervera enlivens an episode often passed over.

Musicant's microhistory is more compelling than his macrohistory. He attempts to set the domestic conretelling of Commodore George
Dewey's victory at Manila Bay on
May 1 places the reader at Capt.

The adempts to set the domestic text for American belligerence but trips over the odd fact and the curious characterization (if Mark Hanna

was a "mega-industrialist," what were John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie?). The book's title is also a bit puzzling after all the time Musicant spends on the likes of Roosevelt and fellow expansionists
A.T. Mahan and Henry Cabot
Lodge, William McKinley may have backed into empire, but he was pushed — hard. And even with McKinley the exi

dence is ambiguous. Musicant at cepts the contemporary war-hawk criticism of McKinley as immobilized and unable to lead; echoing (and repeating) Roosevelt's compar-ison of his boss's backbone to a chocolate eclair, Musicant says that McKinley, "paralyzed with indecision," became "a prisoner of his natural political passivity." But Roo sevelt discovered that McKinley had a knack for winding up with what he wanted without having to ask for it (including the popular but reluctant Roosevelt on the 1900 ticket), and Musicant, after bemoaning McKinley's passivity, describes the chief executive's "enormous victory" in "asserting presidential primacy in foreign affairs at a time when a raging Congress and inflamed public opinion dictated the opposite."

Had Musicant continued his

story beyond the Paris pact that ended the war with Spain, perhaps he would have reconsidered whether empire came to America quite by default. The war against Spain might have been splendid and little, as John Hay said, but the Philippine war, the direct offspring of the fight against Spain, was bru-tal, deadly, agonizingly long and demoralizing. Americans in the Philippines employed tactics chillngly similar to those that earned yler the nickname "Butcher" in Cuba; the provisioning scandal of the "embalmed beef" for the troops in Cuba faded in the face of shock at revelations of the "water cure" and similar atrocities across the Pacific. The Philippine war revealed that Americans would fight for their empire; at the same time, by reminding them what hell war was, it guaranteed that they wouldn't glibly grab

was enough for this generation. novel Adam's Breed and supported her through the grueling obscenity as the poster couple for female sexwrote a "Commentary" for The Well

my more colonies. One such war

education, if not training, of dri-ters have all played their part in improving the road death toll.
What happened between 1972
and 1997 was not a miracle, but the cumulative effect of a number of new laws. It was the outcome of a long campaign for less Hall's passionate correspondence ish driving, even if constraint

also had to be used. The figures reflect the legal arsenal introduced over 25 Jears; compulsory front-seat seat-belts in 1973, stricter speed limits in 1974 and again a 1983, a crackdown on drinkdiving in 1984, a roadworthiness test for old vehicles in 1985, back-seat seat-belts in 1990, and a points system for tisso, and a points system for thiving offences in 1992.

The many arguments put forward by the road lobby — all of them to some degree loaded — on such issues as speed and the stationary and the station

Paris starts to parley with Abacha regime

snubbed his predecessor, an Afro-American academic who was perceived as being too sympathetic to opposition circles. Over the past two or three years, the French have come to the conclusion that they have a card to play in Nigeria. They are banking on the country making a gradual recovery.

But, along with the rest of the international community, they espouse the "realistic" hypothesis that Abacha will perpetuate the present regime in one form or another. The French argument is that it is better idea to try to re-establish a

dialogue rather than remonstrate with a regime that is in no mood to heed advice. It is an argument that is all the

more attractive because France has recently had to give ground in Central Africa and shift its focus of influence to West Africa, especially around the oilfields of the Gulf of

The rapprochement with Abuja is also part of a long-term process: France, which under General Charles de Gaulle made the "mistake" of backing the secession in Biafra (when Britain sided with the federal authorities), has since striven to normalise, then improve, its relations with a regional power that "cannot be ignored".

Although the number of French companies operating in Nigeria has decreased since the beginning of the eighties, when oil revenues generated a steady flow of

as ambassador in Lagos of William
H Twaddell, a career diplomat formerly posted in Liberia. It had
Contracts. France now has more clout.
This has been largely due to the

Le Monde

growing influence of the French companies Elf and Total in the oil and natural gas sector. Elf did par-ticularly well under the regime of President Ibrahim Babangida from 1985 on, whereas Total has been riding high since Abacha took power at the end of 1993.

Significantly, it was Gaz France (GDF) that salvaged the Bonny liquefied gas project (in which Elf has a stake) when it was seriously jeopardised by opposition from the Italian Greens. Deliveries of Nigerian gas will now go not to Italy but to GDF's terminal at Montoir-de-Bretagne. But even the strongest French

advocates of a constructive dialogue with the Nigerian regime admit they have been disappointed by its performance. "The worrying thing," a French diplomat who encouraged France's present policy says off the record, "is that General Abacha loes not make clear-cut decisions on crucial issues: he has not succeeded in really modernising the economy or encouraging a national econciliation, nor has he brought his country back into the international fold".

Despite promises by the finance minister, Anthony Ani, the 1998 oudget, based rather over-optimisti ally on an oil price of \$17 a barrel, alls far short of the expectations of the business community and Nigeria's principal creditors. As one economist puts it: "It's a budget with

as not to annoy the nationalists."

True, the government has oil refineries, and electricity and telephone utilities. But Abacha has failed to meet the International Monetary Fund's demand that he bring Nigeria's two exchange rates into line — the existence over the rate of 22 nairas to the US dollar (as against 83 on the black market) has greatly enriched the regime's hangers-on. A list of 800 "priority" proects suggests that public funds may be about to be squandered.

The regime is continuing to rush through the transfer of its central nistration to Abuja, 750km inland. All the ministries, the NNPC. the law faculty (once the pride of Lagos) and even the national ports authority are now based there. This will eventually force foreign embassies to follow suit. A direct air link between Europe and Abuja, bypassing Lagos, is shortly to be

This inevitable redeployment will enable Nigeria, a huge country, to develop in a more balanced way. But it is also bound to increase resentment in the Yoruba southwest. which has been Nigeria's economic. political and cultural powerhouse since independence.

The stability of the Abuja regime - and thereby the confidence of investors — depends more than ever on its ability to reconcile once and for all the various forces that make up the turbulent Nigerian nation.

Separatists refuse to soften line

Marie-Claude Decamps

N FEBRUARY 14 the national assembly of the Basque separatist coalition, Herri Batasuna (HB), meeting in Pamplona, appointed a new collegiate leadership after two worths of debate and after two months of debate and three weeks of internal elections. Never before has a list of candidates been so meticulously chosen.

That same day Spain commemorated the death of a former president of the Constitutional Tribunal Francisco Tomas y Valiente, whose murder two years ago by ETA, the armed wing of the Basque separatist movement, prompted huge demonstrations against terrorism. Many other protests have been held

HB's new leaders, although more representative of the movement's various ideological strands than the previous team, do not have the 'moderate" profile that had been hoped for in some quarters.

The fact that members of KAS (Koordinadora Abertzale Sozialista), a group representing the most radical organisations within ETA are this time in a minority (11 out of 24) could be regarded as a significant development. It must also be acknowledged that some of the most virulent hardliners have been ousted from the leadership. But internal criticism is still not allowed: candidates who openly questioned the use of violence have also been excluded.

The daily El Pais feels that all in all there has been "a moderate opening up, combined with a dose of realism, compared with the former lendership's reckless policies".

The conservative press is more sceptical. ABC believes this is just a case of "superficial moderation", imposed for tactical reasons by ETA to give HB "a more autonomous air".

However that may be, the movement's actual or supposed autonomy will shortly be put to the test: with elections for the Basque parliament coming up in eight months, most political parties, from the Basque Nationalist party (PNV) - the largest in the Basque Country — to the con-servative People's party (PP) and the Socialists are having huge diffi-culty trying to decide whether or not to start up a dialogue with HB, and under what conditions.

The likelihood of any agreement on the Basque issue and even on have receded. Gone is the groundswell of anti-ETA sentiment that followed the murder of councillor Miguel Augel Blanco last July.

The ruling PP four of whose councillors have been murdered, has been accused of trying, by its intransigence. "to make political capital out of the dead" and thus make a local breakthrough at the future Basque elections.

As for the PNV, which has proposed an "funlimited" dialogue between democrats in the hope of achieving "a peaceful solution to the problem of terrorism", it is suspected of having "yielded to the blackmail of radical separatists" so as to wean voters away from HB. (February 17)

Drawing From the Well

Jeannine DeLombard

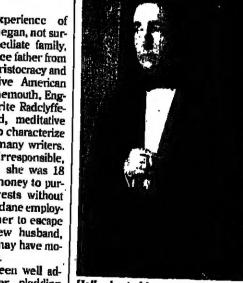
RADCLYFFE HALL A Woman Called John By Sally Cline Overlook Press. 434 pp. \$32.50

DESPITE the title of her best-known book, The Well Of Loneliness, Radclyffe Hall's most vexing problem was not solitude but society. At least this is the impression one gets from reading Sally Cline's carefully researched biography of Hall, arguably the early 20th century's most famous leabian.

ness out of a block of marble, Cline chips away at Hall's turbulent friendships, family relationships and romances to expose the contours of the complicated personality at their center. That this study remains a portrait of Hall's stony exterior, ultimately offering little insight into her thoughts and emotions, is perhaps due to the fact that, with the exception of a voluminous correspondence at the end of her life, Hall left very little in the way of autobio-graphical writings, forcing Cline to draw primarily on the diaries and memoirs of Hall's three most important lovers and, more problematically, Hall's fiction.

Hall's lifelong experience of stormy relationships began, not surprisingly, in her immediate family, composed of an absentce father from the fringes of British aristocracy and an abusive, exploitative American mother. Born in Bournemouth, England, in 1880, Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall lived the pained, meditative existence that seems to characterize the early lives of so many writers. The death of Hall's irresponsible, dissolute father when she was 18 left her with enough money to pursue her literary interests without the need for more mundane employment; it also allowed her to escape from her mother's new husband. whom Cline suggests may have mo-

lested his stepdaughter. Cline would have been well advised to abandon her plodding | Hall adopted her masculine look chronological approach and open her study with one of the more sensational moments in Hall's tempestuous life - the obscenity trials over The Well Of Loneliness, for example, or one of her tragic love triangles - working in the dull details of Hall's ancestry and childhood where necessary. As it is, Cline's dutiful excavation of this information leads her to rely overmuch



only in her forties PHOTO: FOX

simplification: (For example, after describing an incident in which

child's pet bird away from her, Cline notes with the utmost seriousness that Hall's "fiction becomes a home for defenseless canaries, and powerless children attached to canaries.")

the young Marguerite. Those familiar with Radclyffe Hall through photographs of her in austere middle age, sporting tailored tweeds, slicked-back hair and a tie, may be surprised to find that, although she early enjoyed both female lovers and what was then perceived as masculine dress, Hall was a political conservative and a devout Catholic who wore only skirts in public through the 1920s and did not cut her knee-length blond hair until she was almost 40 years old. Hall's identity as a poet and a les-

bian emerged during her long rela-tionship with Mabel "Ladye" Batten. a celebrated mezzo-soprano, comr, grandmother and the former lover of King Edward VII. The relationship ended tragically with Ladye's death, which occurred while Hall was romping around the English countryside with her new lover (and Ladye's young, married

cousin), Una Troubridge. Over the next 28 years, Troubridge became the classic literary wife, subordinating her own ca-Hall's stepfather cruelly takes the reer and ambitions to that of her beloved; searching out conducive writing environments, shielding Hall from family and friends during periods of intense creativity, neglecting her own daughter, and The adult Hall — or John, as she finding titles for many of Hall's novon Hall's fiction for psychological inwas known socially—is more intersight, which in turn leads to over-esting, if not more accessible than community of Hall's nover the critical community of Hall's nover the cri sight, which in turn leads to over- esting, if not more accessible, than over the critical success of her 1926 structured her life.

trials that prohibited the publication in England of The Well Of Loneliness. Aware of her and Hall's status ual "inversion" (as described by sexologist Havelock Ellis, who Of Loneliness and greatly influenced Hall's views on the biological origins of lesbian sexuality) Proubridge even tolerated Hall's torrid nine-year affair with her 28year-old White Russian nurse. Evguenia Souline, which continued until Hall's death of cancer in 1943.

with Souline offers the most sur tained glimpse of the inner worklugs of the lesbian icon's mind, it is not, however, an attractive one: In her twice-daily letters to the young, Russian refugee, Hall ceaseless tries to bully and baby-talk her lover into passivity and dependence: (In one letter, a stern Hall punishes Souline for her decision to enroll in a typing and shorthand course at Oxford by cutting by £5 her monthly "allowance".) The image that emerges from these letters, 45 from the biography itself, is of an in secure, domineering woman deter-mined to master the complicated Solnts system carry little weight



lives lost. Roads kill. The number of

deaths may have gone down, but there are still too many. That is why the Gayssot bill, announce on February 18, marks a further vital stage in this long struggle" against what is a national scan-dal. Its aim is clearly defined: to reduce the annual number of road deaths from 8,000 to

4.000 within the next five years: One measure will make excessive speeding a crime rather than an offence. Any driver caught driving at more than 50kmh above the speed limit will be liable to a six-month jail

ference between lives saved and '| sentence and a maximum fine of | tion between a first and a second 50,000 francs (\$8,000). There is a proviso: only if a driver is caught speeding twice within a year will it count as a crime . rather than an offence. People caught driving 50kmh above the limit for the first time will, as now, be fined and have points deducted from their licence.

If I insist on this single aspect of the Gayssot bill - its Intention to make excessive speeding a crime - it is because in 1994 another transport minister, Bernard Bosson, sought to introduce similar legislation, the difference being that it was even stiffer, since it made no distincoffence: The massed ranks of those

who believed they had a right to drive in a manner that was lethal both to themselves and others started squealing that the bill amounted to an infringement of their liberties. Worse, the proposed legislation managed to arouse the unanimous hostility of MPs, whether of the right or left, who lelt it went too far.

A slightly watered-down bill is about to come before parlia ment. It would be nothing short of scandalous if it were not

adopted. (February 20)



Europe 'will defend cultural exceptions'

N WHAT way do you think the MAI now being negotiited by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is dangerous for the arts?

The principle of the MAI is offensive because it regards works of art purely as investments, not as creations. I also find it offensive that companies should be allowed to impose their will without the consent of governments. Countries should be allowed to implement their ownpolicies on the arts and education.

The MAI would end each country's policy of arts subsidies and sabotage any European cultural policy. If the MAI were to cover the arts, everything would go - production subsidies, aid to distributors and exhibitors, the quota systems that protect people in the music and audio-visual industries, and bilateral agreements between countries.

French film professionals have criticised the government for keeping the state of negotiations secret and underestimating the MAI's impact. What do you

I'm surprised at such criticism. I've raised the issue more than once since becoming culture minister, both in public and at political and industry meetings both here and abroad. As with all international negotiations, there was little point in revealing their tenor while they | Will France make recognition of

were still under way. But there was no secrecy and no underestimation

Isn't the French position liable to be seen as extreme — some of our partners are apparently pre-pared to be more flexible?

It's not about adopting an ex-

reme position, but about being politically consistent. Since we defended the principle of the "cul-tural exception" during the Gatt talks, we could hardly throw in the sponge at the next stage. As regards our European partners, this is a good opportunity for us to show that this is an issue that concerns every country, without of course wishing to impose our model on anyone. But it's in every country's interest to defend its culture. The French position has proved that one can fight and get results even when the odds seem against it.

Areas qualifying for exemption from the MAI's general principles need to be specified. How is this possible when new technologies are going to open up as yet unknown ways of producing and disseminating works of art?

That's why we've demanded a general cultural exception" that will make it possible to include new types of creation and dissemination

It's one of four absolute conditions: on top of the general cultural exception, we're pressing for the dropping of retaliatory procedures in trade relations between sovereign states, such as the D'Amato and Burton-Helms laws. We're also keen for the possibility of a European preference to be maintained, and we do not want our social welfare system to be affected.

that "general exception" a pre-

condition for agreeing to sign the MAI? And if so, is it the only con-

How does the MAI fit into the international negotiations on the arts involving France?

It plays a vital part, first because the talks, as I've said, are fraught with danger. We have stated our

larly as regards new areas in multimedia. And we're ready for future international talks, both at European level over issues raised by the Green Book on Telecommunications and Multimedia, and at global level, with the Gatt re-negotiations within the framework of the World Trade Organisation coming up in

basic long-term principles, particu-

But the MAI talks are also an opportunity for Europeans to move closer together. They mark a step towards making consultation between European Union culture ministers a accompanied by guarantees permanent feature of the landscape. The Birmingham meeting on the cinema and the audio-visual arts on April 5-6 will mark an important stage in that process, which should result in the setting up of a Euro-

à-vis the United States?

As it happens, exactly the o

vestment. We've made the 🕾

that Europe has genuinely as-

large number of exceptions lo MAI's general procedures. (February 15-16)

as though it were a tonic: "I am a labour, capital and product martained by the mere idea of the kets, and fostering entrepreneur-pidities (the book) will elicit to the past two decades.

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Talks on cross-border investment treaty collapse

harlotte Denny

WO days of high-stakes nego-tations over an international resty to liberalise national rules

sking a commitment for the 29 member countries of the Intenisation for Economic Cotion and Development to push for a political agreement at inisterial meeting in late April. A source close to the talks on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which were held at the OECD's Paris headquarters, described the MAI as "dead in the water for now".

The MAI was promoted by the rich countries' think-tank, the OECD, as a way of encouraging and protecting more than \$350 billion a year in cross-border investment, notably by obliging governments to treat foreign investors on the same terms as

domestic counterparts. It would have allowed multinationals to sue national governments which harmed their interests.

The latest meeting took place under mounting opposition from environmental, labour and other interest groups. But the real sticking point was the exemp-tions for particular industries, such as the French film sector (see facing page), demanded by national governments. American enthusiasm has waned because

of tensions over US trade sanctions legislation — judged to be at odds with the treaty.

Meanwhile the business groups which originally spon-sored the treaty have lost interest as its provisions have been watered down.

Lobby groups which cam-paigned for the treaty to include environmental and labour protection messures were hopeful that last week's failure could spell the end of the MAI.

LANS to create the world's largest drugs company through a merger of British com-

In Brief

panies Glaxo Wellcome and SmithKline Beecham were called off after the two firms failed to agree final terms amid signs of bitter recriminations. Among the key difficulties was almost certainly the prospective working relationship between the two bosses, Sir Richard Sykes of Glaxo and SKB's Jan Laschley.

SBC underlined its position as the world's most profitable banking group by notching up a surplus of more than \$8 bil-

HE UK government announced the re-appointment of Eddle George as governor of the Bank of England. His second term will stretch beyond the next election and possibly embrace the UK's membership of the single European currency.

ATLEAST 12 million British people — more than half of the workforce — are heading for financial hardship when they retire, according to a "pensions index" launched by NatWest bank. It found that only 21 per cent of workers will achieve a pension of \$292 per week - the minimum that older people say is necessary for a comfortable

G 7 FINANCE ministers called for "determined and speedy" extension of debt relief to a greater number of countries as the United States reversed its opposition to an acceleration of the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative.

S HAREHOLDERS in the Woolwich, the building society which converted to a bank last year, are to receive an unexpected windfall -- an average dividend payout of \$170.

KRETAIL sales rose at their fastest rate for nearly 10 years in January, reinforcing fears that the Bank of England will raise interest rates to keep the lid on inflation.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Pentuny 23	Pebruary 1
Australia	2.4559-2.462B	2.4669-2.46
Austria	20.79-20.80	20.94-20.9
Belgium	60.98-61.07	61.45-61.5
Canada	2.3382-2.3400	2.3650-2.36
Denmark	11,28-11,27	11.34-11.3
France	9.91-9.91	9.98-9.99
Germany	2.9549-2.9570	2,9775-2.97
Hong Kong	12.72-12.73	12.87-12.8
Ireland	1.1876-1.1898	1.1935-1.19
Italy	2,914-2,917	2,937-2,94
Japan	210,12-210.37	208.30-206.
Netherlands	3.0305-3.3328	3.3561-8.36
New Zealand	2.6486-2.6532	2.8394-2.84
Norway ::	12.38-12.36	12.39-12.4
Portugal	302.41-302.70	304.62-305.
Spain	250.39-250.54	252.35-252.
Sweden	13.16-13.17	13.26 13.2
Switzerland	2,3840-2.3867	2.3948-2.39
Same of allth.	I a mand blacem "	

1.4984-1.4970 1.5060-1.5076

G8 ministers target full employment

Larry Elliott argues that jobs got it only half-right

EN years ago the idea of holding a jobs summit would have been inconceivable. lagaret Thatcher and Ronald Reaga would never have given the idea lose room, arguing that it sucked of an old, discredited age Isn't it a pity that Europe alay demand management, profligate seems to be on the defensive and irresponsible armounts and irresponsible gremments and irresponsible

As it nappens, comes, including the site is true. The Europeans and tragenda, and those who call for it ticularly the French, have able are no longer treated as social pa-an offensive position. We're signent ministers from eight of d:world's biggest economies spent sary efforts, and the MAI ± is weekend discussing it is good

ised its forces as regards global What's more, the Group of Eight tion. But globalisation has was tosads finding a solution to the prob-It's the Americans who are at km. The rise in unemployment was defensive, and they who, in a fact the result of some freak of naother than culture, have asked the an El Niño effect — but the

Sasquence of governments fol-laing deflationary macroeconomic places and putting up with dis-torive tax and benefit regimes at a

of pleasure and torture he spent toxicated with ink. It took him eternity to drag each sent screaming into the world.

Lastly, there was the post-viriating and to the sentence), testing and methods agonising moment when the had to brave the outside world low writers lapsed into an entire friendly critica got hold of the stick.

That was also the monast once dreaded and exhilaring when Flaubert saw confirmation when Flaubert saw confirmation when Flaubert saw confirmation in the least the slating that L'Edocate as though it were a tonic. "I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic." I saw going to get. He looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards as though it were a tonic. I saw going to get the looked forwards and

Flaubert repeatedly said he are this is essentially the doctrine not care less about the jibes said down by Nigel Lawson in the at him. Yet he was left tend light Mais lecture, hardened into an obruised by the feroclous times in its designed to keep inflation low lived in.

(Rebruary 13)

This is essentially the doctrine min the min the min the min to an obruised by the feroclous times in its designed to keep inflation low lived in. solicy creates the right conditions

If, as the new orthodoxy argues, the pursuit of macroeconomic policles that deliver "sustainable noninflationary growth" are the answer, then by now we should be seeing some of the benefits. It is 14 years since the Mais lecture, so where's the beef?

According to the accepted wisdom, there is a country where Mr Lawson's prescriptions have worked. It is called the United States. All you need is an Alan Greenspan at your central bank masterminding monetary policy to deliver non-inflationary growth, a Robert Rubin at your Treasury bringing some order to your public finances, and a Bill Clinton as your visionary leader reforming welfare states and embracing global liberali-

A decade after it was seen as sleeping leviathan, the US is now a dazzling success. Unemployment is plunging, growth is surging, living standards are booming, a new ecochrysalis of the old.

There is little doubt that 1997 was golden year for the American economy, with real wages rising and unemployment falling. But economists are normally wary of taking one year in isolation, preferring to look at performance over a whole business cycle. As Larry Mishel and John Schmidt of the Economic Polthink-tank, have shown, once you think tank have shown, once you think tank have shown, once you think tank have shown, once you to the some of the gloss comes off the notion that a "new paradigm" then created across the Aticy Institute, a Washington-based the notion that a "new paraugm has been created across the Atlantic America's reputation rests on one indicator — unemployment—but elsewhere its performance leaves a lot to be deaired.

Let's start with growth rates in gross domestic product (GDP) per head, a key measure for economic performance. If the US really were leaving the rest of the world for dead, this is one area where it should be clearly evident. But, as it happens, growth in GDP per head in the US from 1989 to 1997 averaged 1.1 per cent a year, slower than n two of the economies currently considered basket cases - Germany and Japan — and on a par with the UK, France and Italy. What's more, America's GDP-perhead growth in the "new economy" of the 1990s has been markedly inferior to the growth enjoyed in the two previous business cycles - 1.8 1989, and 2.5 per cent a year from

UT even if the US is not. doing that well in terms of GDP per head, surely it is G8 would be better off — in these

with the exception of Canada. cent, Germany's 3.3 per cent and the UK's 1.8 per cent.

At this point, devotees of the US model normally say that the rest of the world enjoys faster productivity because they are following in the wake of America's lead, and enjoy-

As a result of their analysis, Mishel and Schmidt come to the following conclusion. "Whatever liabilities a developed welfare state, broad social protections and strong unions may represent for a country, no evidence exists to suggest that these institutional arrangements lead to slower economic or produc-

tivity growth." . Mishel and Schmidt — who also stress that most workers in the US. are working longer and harder for less — are a useful antidote to those who argue that what Europe needs is a good, strong dose of American-

On the contrary, Europe's emphasis on training and education could per cent a year between 1979 and | mean that it has a well-qualified labour force capable of competing well in the new global economy. What it has lacked for a generation is sufficient growth.

It is still taboo to suggest that the outgunning the rest when it comes | deflationary times - setting targets Between 1987 and 1995, real inflation. It is a sign of derangemen gross domestic product per hour to argue that governments should worked rose by 0.9 per cent a year accept responsibility for directly in the US. Far from being the best record in the G7, it was the worst, suggest that one reason for slower Japan's growth rate was 2:9 per growth since the mid-1970s has been the volatility caused by unfet tered capital flows.

Still, times change. The polit cians who are currently chanting the mantra "sound macroeconom policies and sustainable non-influ wake of America's lead, and enjoy-ing the fruits of a catch-up process. tain that "love is all you need", And Unfortunately this is not true either. | as we have seen from the sabre rat-The latest data show that Europe has narrowed or eliminated the productivity gap with the US.

as we have seen from the sabre raise thing of the past few weeks, they have certainly changed their minds about that

Pierre Lepape Correspondence IV

Gustave Flaubert Edited by Jean Bruneau Bibliothèque de la Plélade (Gallimard) 1,500pp 479 francs 66 HE artist should no more

A appear in his work than God in nature. Man is nothing, the work is all!" This profession of faith by friend pushed lewdness too far," Flaubert comes in a letter to George Sand dating from the very end of 1875, which closes the fourth and penultimate volume of this indispensable edition of his correspondence. It provides the key to Flaubert's letters: they are in every sense the reverse side of his oeuvre, in other words the man.

Flaubert was so painfully confirmed the first person, which his fiction strove to muzzle or eliminate, that on more than one occasion he took drastic steps to prevent this from happening.

In his Souvenirs Littéraires. Maxime du Camp tells how he and Flaubert mutually agreed to destroy the many letters they had exchanged when the publication of Lettres de Mérimée à Une Inconnue revealed to us the breach of trust to which we were laying ourselves | open by allowing these private con- the flaying by the critics of his third he knew he needed only to look at fidences, where we had freely used 'proper' names . . . and opened up | Antoine ("my whole life's work"), | fects. That stupidity was in his our hearts unreservedly, to sur- the death of his mother, the collapse | blood, his genes and his way of life. | the actual text, but about the hours

felt a twinge of regret at having destroyed those pages, which we had

filled with all that was best in us." Sometimes it was Flaubert's correspondents themselves who did the censoring — for the best reacareful to let you have what is worthy of him."

The bourgeoisie of 1880 dreamt of an uncontentious, squeaky-clean Flaubert. Given the choice, Flaubert would probably have preture, and one that André Gide said replaced the Bible at his bedside for

five years, is a reluctant survivor. If Flaubert had not written letters, he would doubtless have choked to death with sheer rage, pain and loneliness. This is particularly evident from the letters in this volume, which date from January 1869 to

December 1875. Those were especially dark years, They saw the death of his reader and comrade, Louis Bouilhet, the flop of L'Education Sentimentale. version of La Tentation de Saint

Flaubert's fight against the bourgeois within vive." They kept only a handful of of his fortune, the invasion of them. "The rest were burnt, and we France by the Prussians, and the France by the Prussians, and the

> They were years of anger, disgust and exasperation. Of loneliness too: Flaubert was only 51 in 1871, but his circle of friends was shrinking like that of an old man. His only friend sons in the world, so as not to harm the reputation of the Great Writer than him. He called her "chère Maître" and addressed her using the respectful "yous" form. She wrote Ernest Chevalier. "I shall be used the familiar "tu", made a fuss of him, called him her "old troubadour" and, on occasion, gave him a

good telling off. They were very fond of each other but had completely different ideas. She was a democrat and a libferred there to be no Flaubert at all, eral who wrote books and articles to just his works. His correspondence, earn enough money to bring up her one of the finest in French litera- brood at Nohant in relative afflu- ary society in the 1870s. ence. She believed in progress and life during the Prussian occupation,

Flaubert was, in her words, an inirked by the Commune and indignant about the Third Republic: "The whole dream of democracy is to raise the proletarian to the same de-

gree of studidity as the bourgeois." And Flaubert knew something about the stupidity of the bourgeois: himself in a mirror to observe its efIt was waiting to catch him out in | of pleasure and torture be speating his use of language, in his pat turns of phrase. "I'm trying to establish whether I do not possess the 32 qualities of the imbecile," he wrote. in another letter: "One has to resign oneself to living balf way between

diocy and raving lunacy." Flaubert mistrusted everything and nothing more than his own feelings. He was a good person at heart (as can be seen from his affectionate letters to his niece, Caroline). good son and a loyal friend. But he always felt the urge to wrench himself away from such a compliant attitude, so fearful was he of detecting in it the symptoms of what he called "the Joke" — by which he meant lies, sentimental nonsense, received ideas, and ideology.

THIS volume of correspondence is a remarkable record of literin the virtue of hope, in other words | the crisis of the bourgeois élites and the trauma of the Commune. But what interests us most is Flaubert décolèreux (someone who is in a permanent state of rage). He was echo of his work in his letters, but exasperated by the Second Empire, | all we get are hints. Flaubert never

talks about what he is writing. He would go through three creative stages. The pre-writing stage involved encyclopaedic reading. piles of notes, and weeks spent scouring Paris for a piece of information that would end up as half a line in L'Education Sentimentale. Then came the writing stage. His

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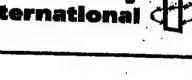
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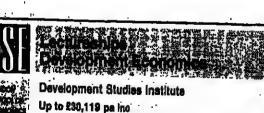
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els. She said so. He had seen her

Her learning process involved bropean poverty and politics and affair, later a short marriage, with the radical journalist Bertrand & Jouvenal. The process also covindreturning to - and crossing merica, walking in on an oil boom vion the great Russian film direcer Sergei Elsenstein, who was failer to film in Mexico, and writing be first novel. It took her on to the would of the Federal Relief Agency. which she filed reports on the wes of the forgotten poor, which and like epic captions for Depresn photographers: she was sacked

at last breaking out in Europe.

He eventually came after her.

She then loosely attached herself to the 82nd Airborne Division through the bitter 1944-45 winter of the Battle of the Bulge, and also to its leader, the heroic General James

watched him holding court in a Lon-

don hospital after a drunken acci-

dent. Gellhorn stowed away on a

D-Day hospital ship and went

ashore at Normandy. Hemingway

crossed the Channel as officially as

possible, but did not land.

Gavin. She was present when the chaotic mass of the Russian army swarmed up to the other Allies. She was in newly-liberated Dachau, at the apex of her anger, when peace was declared.

About all of these places and peo-ple she wrote simply. An American

prose style of Shaker plainness. She believed real reporters did not take notes, but knew instinctively what remained forever important -

OBITUARY 23

trivia, the tone of the times. It seldom included any utterance, or even mention, of a politician. "All politicians are bores and liars and fakes. I talk to people," she said. To read her dispatches (collected as The Face Of War and The View From The Ground) is to be granted instant access to where she was, whenever it was.

The business in peace was to settle down. Gellhorn was courted by Tom Matthews, a recently-retired editor of Time magazine, with a Mt Rushmore profile and a sound mind, and they married. But he wanted an urbane life in Britain, and she missed the excitement of the fight against fascism. *I am a loner, I am not a team player," she said once - she could certainly be unsociable, abrupt and grand - and 'The ideal is to live five blocks away from a man who makes you laugh and is wrapped up in his work". The marriage petered out after nine years.

And so, by the 1960s, she was wandering again, her association with Collier's had lapsed with her editor's death in the 1940s: thereafter, she had often to give herself assignments, and pay her own expenses. Nevertheless, with help which she remembered as rather minimal — from the Guardian, she reached Vietnam in 1966 to report the war tof which she was i ashamed) that confirmed America as a colonial power.

Her long perspective eventually became valued again, when she returned to Madrid at the time of Franco's death, or to Castro's Cuba, where she saw, in the aplendour of the full-grown trees now filling the garden of her old home, "the years of my life made real". At 80, she took off to inquire into the US invasion of Panama, stroppy as ever.

She dined with the BBC's John Simpson on his way to Bosnis. She saw off the East-West nuclear confrontation she most feared. She became part of the century's image bank. To the end, this fierce pacifiet reported drinking red wine or iced Scotch with the children and grandchildren of fighters she had known.

Martha Gellhorn, Journalist, born November 8, 1908; died February

Independent witness to our world at war

Abraham Lincoln's bedroom and

was fed regular meals during an

awkward patch, when her furious

moral righteousness made her

There she finished The Trouble

I've Seen, fiction based on her

underclass investigations. It was

published in 1936, with her portrait,

blonde and elegant, on its dust

jacket: this was a titillating combina-

tion and a success. She was immedi-

ately celebrated, but fled the hoopla

At a Key West bar called Sloppy

Joe's, she ran into Ernest Heming-

way, bulky in his "odiferous Basque

shorts". Two big celebs in a small

face on Trouble. All afternoon and

evening, they drank Papa Dobles,

two-and-s-half jiggers of white Bac-

ardi rum, juice of two fresh limes,

swirled in a rusty electric blender. It

sounds like a Hollywood "meet-

cute" - she walked into the bar in a

black dress and high heels, with her

terrific mother in tow. The Bacall

and Bogart versions were merely re-

makes. She seems to have thought

she had found the partner her nerve

He was also married and off to

cover the Spanish Civil War. She de-

cided to join the fight and him ther-

haps not in that order), this time

with a rucksack and \$50, a letter of

introduction from Collier's maga-

zine, and a notion that the "correct

response to a war against fascism

was simply to be present on the right side". She thought that war

correspondents reported the battle-

field, and was surprised, but willing,

when one suggested that a descrip-

tion of ordinary life in besieged

Madrid was worth sending home.

Collier's printed the piece, put her

name on their masthead, and there

she was, a war correspondent and

Hemingway's lover.

descreed. Hemingway was booked.

town. His books had been her mod-

otherwise unemployable.

by holidaying in Florida.

Martha Gellhorn

town of St Louis, Missouri, shaped the life of Martha Colhorn who has died aged 89. Her mifragette mother and doctor ther had raised her to confidence nd compaigning, and, as a child, the had freedoms her peers did not; the roamed the city alone on those ers, looking in on lives unlike her

issays bent," she drawled long after. She was briefly collegiate at Bryn that, she was a cub reporter surnot accept liability to a not accept liability to a wing on a diet of doughnuts. Then loss or damage causalt 421, in 1930, her life began with a an error or inaccuracy in: stenge class passage to Europe, printing or non-appearan-375 and a suitcase. She went to of any advertisement. The his to become a foreign correalso reserve the right a pandent. Just like that.

classify correctly Even for a girl who looked, as she ace remarked, like the cartoon daracter Betty Boop - all batted nelishes - and had limitless inauciance, it did not happen quite for that, Gellhorn sold any old writis she could and got a "very highdas education - standing room at gound level to watch history as it

assist us by checking F advertisements careful, a advise us immeditshould an error occuregret that we cannot according responsibility for more #: ONE INCORRECT INSett and that no republicator be granted in the case typographical or mi changes which do not alle! the value of

> It allowed her the naivety to edge room and board from H G Wells in London, where she wrote a fivid eye-witness account of a southera lynching she later admitted that the had never seen; and to accept the offer of President Roosevelt and his wife, Eleanor — her mother's "I had the chance to see the life of

THE death of Ernst Jünger at the

great age of 102 ends both a

exendary life packed with dramatic

krinspiring local revolutions.

she had made over for Hemingway and herself. They married and settled in. They worked on fiction. But Gellhorn wanted to be in on the war She reached London and followed

Out on her own . . . 'I am a loner', said Martha Gellhorn PHOTO JANE BOWN

the action in Europe and North Africa as closely as she could with, or usually without, official permission, and with directions from friends in useful places. She advanced recklessly up through Italy with the Allies. Hemingway's telegram to her there read: "Are you a wai correspondent or my wife in bed?"

One editor at Collier's appreciated and trusted her copy and, for eight years after that, she could go where Their rivalry was not friendly any she wanted and write what she saw. more. She seems to have been Compaigning friend — to stay in the my time, which was war." Her base Hemingway's personal bullshit- white House, which was pretty was a house outside Havana, which detector, especially when she coldly

> Jünger rejoined the army on the | Mitterrand and Kohl - were reoutbreak of the second world war, which he spent as a staff officer in occupied Paris, his duties leaving him time to cultivate Cocteau. Celine and Picasso. Junger was close to the aristocratic army offi-

1944 misfired, he was dismissed from the army in disgrace. His eldest son Ernstl was not so lucky: arrested for his resistance activities, he was forced to join a suicide squad in Italy where he fell at Carrara, Devastated, Junger wrote and privately circulated The Peace - a call to Europe's youth to tran-

In 1950, he moved to the village of

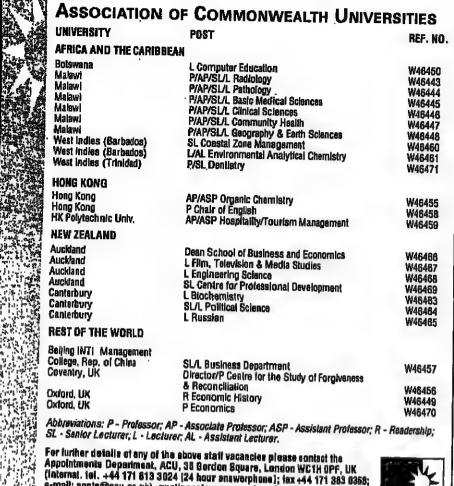
ceived with old-world courtesy.

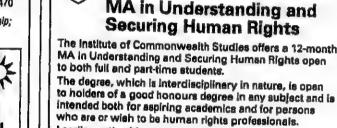
His flair for stirring up controversy, however, was shown again with the publication of his drug diaries", detailing his experiments with LSD, mescaline and psylocybin. His post-war novels included prophetic dystopias on the place of men in a world increasingly dominated by technology, like Heliopolis, The iss bees and Li

Jünger sharply divided critical opinion on his place in the literary pantheon. In Britain, the critic George Steiner berated Jünger as a. dandy and aesthete immune to the suffering of ordinary people, while men of the left like J P Stern and Stuart Hood, his translator, rated him in the late 1940s as the most important writer working in Germany. In old age he enjoyed his cult status which he probably considered his due.

Nigel Jones

Ernst Jünger, writer, soldler, scientist, born March 29, 1895; died February 17, 1998





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clion, controversy and literary and model ours hay roters take to be achievement, and a momentous era man and European history. One of the last chroniclers of the irst world war, in which he served NEVER HIRE A GAR UNTE YOU HAVE CHECKED 25 an officer on the Western Front, Enger survived being wounded KENDALL'S PRICES even times to write his classic ac-200 Fine Cars, Vene, Estate 7, 12 & 15-Seaters for Here count of trench warfare Storm Of KENDALL CARS Sieci (1920). His writing was just one facet of a wide range of activity, tershot Rd., Guifford GU Tel: +14 1483 574434 Fac: +44 1483 34781: taking him one of the 20th century's true Renalissance men; solder, scholar, scientist, philosopher, political polemicist, diarist, correpondent, direless traveller
lunger was all these and more
Born into a large middle class To advertise in the Quardian Week Tel: 00 44 161 908 38

Ernst Jünger

Sahara by an anxious father, he was outbreak of war in 1914. Junker's heroic combat experiences in the trenches won him Germany's top decorations, the Iron Cross and the Pour le Merite medal, the coveted Blue Max If also led him to formulate theory of total war as the natural relement of modern man. The ideas

the Wandervogel youth movement, and then to enlist in the French For-

expressed in his war books of the early 1920s were the antithesis of the pacifism implied in Remarque's All Quiet On The Western Front Junger Igloried in the shot and shell, the muck and ruck of comradely comtax: 00 44 161 538 441 Sanity lunger dired early of the structure of the bourgeois complacencies of the sanity banned by Goebbels after days of the Wilhelmine Empire. His ist, who despleed the democracy of the bestseller.

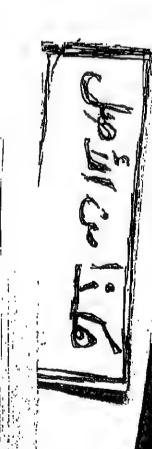
eign Legion, an episode entertaining an invitation to become a Nazi ingly recalled in his book African MP in 1927. He preached a uniting nationalism and Bolshevism just in time to join the army at the to realise his ideal of a society run by worker soldier technocrate

> travelling the world. Until the Nazi was Berlin, where his friends ranged telling a friend with lcy disdain: "

Writer in step with the German century teenage revolt led him first to join the Waindervogel youth movement, and then to enlist in the French Forcers plotting to overthrow Hitler, Diversions. Brought back from the revolutionary/reactionary creed, but when the bomb plot of July 20,

> Quitting the army in 1923, Junger studied zoology in Leipzig and Naples, and began a lifetime habit of selzure of power in 1933, his base from Dr Josef Goebbels on the right to Bertolt Brecht on the left. He refused exile after the Nazi takeover,

scend nationalism and build a united Wilflingen on the Swabian Alps, which remained his home for the have chosen a high place from where I can watch people devour each other. like buga". This attitude of aristo a manor house which doubled as a cratic detachment was reflected in



rival world champions. Vishy Anand and Vlad Kramnik Kasparov's selected duo to play a match for the right to be his challenger in October, shared first prize with 81/13.

ment first prizes.

Michael Adams was equal third, a point behind Anand and Kramnik, which was an even better result than it looked for the British number one. Adams, who spiced up his normal offbeat opening repertoire for the recent Fide knockout championship, seemed to use up his entire repertoire of new ideas in mainline openings there, and was back to his old routine of improvised, homespun variations at Wijk. He played the Four Knights And Bishops openings feebly as White, and fell into trouble by repeating a line that had served

Graningen Despite two successive defeats in mid-tournament, Adams had gained confidence from his Groningeo success and won several games in good style. His lack of prepared systems in the early stages of play is so pronounced however, that this alone stops him being firmly established in the

Adams should follow Kasparov. Karpov and the other top grand- (to play) win quickly? masters and invest some of his £200,000 Groningen prize money in No 2511: 1 . . . Qxe57 2 Qdir hiring a trainer-cum-theoretical Nxh7 3 Rd8+ N/8 4 Rh8+ Kxh83

Letter from Ecuador Maria Zuurmond

Mother of the future

late in the morning, after a beautiful and unusually smooth flight over the Ecuadorian rainforest. There is time to spare befor the Shuar women's meeting, so we set off to visit another local comg3 Bc5 5 Bg2 d6 6 d3 a6 7k
0-0 8 Be3 Bxc3 9 5xc3 d5 N
exd5 Nxd5 11 Nxd5 Qxd6 n
o-0 Qd6 13 Qe1 Bd7 14 kd
Rae8 15 Qf2 f5 16 d4 exd4 n
Nxd4 Qe5 18 Rfe1 Re7 19 4
Nd8 20 Rd2 Bc8 21 Qf4 M
22 Nf3 Qc5 23 Qd4 Qxd4 n
exd4 Rxe1+ 25 Nxe1 Re8 n
Nd3 a5 27 h4 g6 28 a3 Kg 2

exd4 Rxe1+ 25 Nxe1 Re8 2 behind the rest of the group as we clamber along the path. Ernestina by Sax 1 Sax 1 Sax 1 Sax 1 Sax 2 Sax 1 Sax 2 Sax 2

A JE ARRIVE in Tutinentsa | boots that regularly get left behind in the mud. It's unusual for a Shuar woman to

be travelling by herself outside her own community, but Ernestina has recently been elected as the first director of the Shuar women's pro-

was able to call out for some help to cut the cord. After that she was always able to do it for herself.

She explained that she grew up in missionary convent where her parents left her at the age of six. One day the priest announced that the carpenter wanted to marry her, and he would give her a month to think about it.

"What was I to think in a month?" she asked me. She was only a young girl with no idea of love and wanted to study.

When she conveyed these feelings to the priest, he hit her and told her that young girls did not study. She was given three more months to think about it. During this time her parents visited her and were very angry. The carpenter had given them an axe, they said, and if she didn't agree to marry, then she would have to pay for it herself.

"What choice did I have?" She made another couple of

by the house at the time, and she | ally married in the January of her 14th year, and gave birth to her first child that November. For the next 30 years, she adds, she has never menstruated, but simply gone from one pregnancy to the next.

I met Ernestina for the first time when she helped to organise the inaugural Shuar women's meeting. Her youngest child was clinging to her as she bravely stood up to demand greater women's representation from her own federation of indigenous Shuar Indians. Two years later she was elected as the first director of the women's

RNESTINA bubbles with optimism and enthusiasm, Many ___ other people would have given up the fight, but it's almost as if the more she is attacked, the more energy she unearths from deep inside. In the elections of her federation, the hierarchy said that someone from the village without brave attempts to resist, but eventu- formal education couldn't possibly

take on the responsibility of the women's programme. She has since proved them wrong.

FEATURES 25

Until recently Ernestina couldn't make a telephone call, but now she's sending e-mails around the world, and participating in virtual conferences.

She still retains her own distinct way of doing things. Last week we met so that I could collect a com puter disk from her. She proceeded to empty the contents of her blackand-white vinyl handbag until she at last discovered the disk at the bottom, along with numerous sweet wrappers and other essential odds and ends. I explained that the disk was fragile, and that the information could be lost if she didn't look after it. She smiled as she absorbed this new piece of information. Next time, she promised, she will wrap it up in

After an hour of walking under the fierce sun, we arrive at the neighbouring village. Ernestina has taught me a lot on this short walk.

Strange birds of a feather

Paul Evens

HERE are times when, even in the most urban of environments, a still and empty sky suddenly becomes full of birds. Perhaps the most dramatic examples are the swirling, spiralling crowds of starlings, thousands strong, which fill the city skies before roosting on warm buildings.

In the early morning here I can watch a colony of gulls rise from a nearby landfill site and form a living aerial cylinder which rotates until the gulls disperse to school playing fields to hunt where football boots have scuffed the turf.

Interestingly these colonies contain a mixture of species and always include a few blackbacked gulls which are twice the size of the common gulls but seem to coexist quite peacefully.

One of the most fascinating bird flocks I've seen this winter consists of what I call the carpark birds. Pied wagtails are small, black and white, sort of half-timbered birds, which seem to have a neurotic bobbing, tailflicking twitch. But this is not a display of nervousness, it's more like the movements of a boxer who ducks and weaves so as to become a difficult target and find the opening for attack. The pled wagtails like open, puddly places to hunt insects

and have taken to car-parks and open spaces in towns. This winter, all the pied wagtails in this town, between 30

and 100 birds, have gathered in the evenings to form a bouncing. flicking flock around the grounds of a college before settling down to roost in a group of Leyland cypress trees in a nearby garden. Bird flocks are not just visu-

ally exciting, they make a most Incredible noise, as I discovered a couple of days ago. Drawn towards the far end of the woods for no particular reason other than there just might be one, I wandered the tangle of animal pathways until a reason found This weird finger of woodland

points south between fields, a strip regenerated after the upheavals of excavation in the last century which left pits and mounds like the aftermath of a bombing strike. Recolonised by hawthorn, elder, ash, birch and oak, there's a strange mixture of scrub under the wiry trees. Just as flail cutters have battered the hedges along the lanes, so have the recent furious storms flailed through this wood, cracking up old thorns, smashing down trees leaving splintered trunks and white gashes.

The noise began like muffled radio static and intensified into an insane twittering, an aviary

babble of what seemed like hundreds of invisible birds. This adrenalin-charged row seemed both carnival and riot. Shadowy forms flitted through the upper branches as others were recruited into the vortex. But this rave of birds was very aware. As I acrambled towards in there was a sudden hush — a thousand watching eyes in a crushing silence.

Whatever was being communicated had nothing to do with this gatecrasher, so I kept still, thought invisible thoughts, and the birds started up again. This was a gathering of the thrush clans - a mutation. Most were fieldfares, there may have been edwings, but there were mistle thrushes too.

What were these throstles up to? Called bjorktrast in Sweden and gratrost in Norway, were the fieldfares psyching them-selves up for the journey north? Was this a parliament to thrash out the sexual politics of spring? Mistle thrush, otherwise known as storm-cocks, are said to be omens of bad weather — were they announcing or summoning?

This inter-species flocking expressed forces of the cosmos, a state neither completely chaotic nor yet ordered. On some collective decision, the mutation flew into the field, where each individual bird fell silent, gazing gravely into the wind.

openings that are his main was ness. Here's a typical Adams in confirmed that Garry Kasparov still from Wijk - nondescript open holds the whip hand over the Inter-national Chess Federation (Fide) in play redeemed by an endgame virtuoso style: he credibility struggle between

49 Rd6 Resigns.

No 2512

a b c d e f s

Judit Poigar v Vishy Anand.

In contrast, Fide's champion Anatoly Karpov, whom Kasparov recently dismissed as "like Bobby Fischer, a player from the past", played nine rounds without a single win and was next to bottom before a ate recovery brought him to 50 per cent. It was still a dismal performance for a player who holds the all-time career record of 150 tourna-

him badly against Nigel Short at

world's top six.

researcher who could give him the 1 Rxf8 mate.

Kr4 Be8 45 Kg5 Rg1 46 Ke Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

AHAT is the longest English word with no recurring

A WORD in which no letter of the alphabet appears more than oxe is called an isogram. The longest English isograms are uncopyrightable and dermatoglyphics, both of which contain 15 letters. Sec Richard Lederer's Crazy English Sawd Books, 1992) for more fasciming trivia. — Jonathan Brazier.

HAT are the plastic bits on the end of shoelaces called?'

1998. Polgar holds her own or be THE word is "aglet". A chemist at ter with all the top men except is Berkeley recently made a mole-Kasparov, Kramnik and Anand San clar version for stopping the ends at last laid one of the bogeys intil dicretain long intertwined moleweck's diagram. How does Will odes from fraying. — Matthew Told. Cambridge university

> THIS is a classic example of the family of names for things you didn't know had a name (and probaby didn't care). Others are the indept at the bottom of a wine bottle (a kick or a punt) and the wire conraption on table lamps that keeps the shade off the bulb (a harp). loh Shipway, London

HE secondary purpose of an aglet is when purchasing a diccoary: if it doesn't include the word, then don't buy it. Another good word for this test is ferrule, te tip on the bottom of an umella. - Robert Moye, Landon

♥ AQJ973

WHAT is the origin of the expression "to pop one's

THIS dates back to the days when ; wearing clogs was the norm in Britain's northern mill towns, and poverished workers would take eir deceased relatives' footwear to the pawnbroker's and sell or pawn (pop") them for a few coppers, often to help pay for the funeral. —

Caribes, the name of a West

Indian nation. - Arkabrabha Deb. Calcutta, India

/N my experience, it's very hard to find a skillet of the right size. — Arthur Lindley, Singapor

F. LIKE Britain's poor cattle, you were forced to become a cannibal, would you fancy eating Jack Cunningham? - Jack Harris, Dursley, Gloucestershire

THESE days we tend to consider I that killing large numbers of people then not eating them is a mark of civilisation. There is a good argument for reintroducing cannipalism as a rule of warfare. Soldiers could be ordered not to proceed to the next battle until they have first eaten all the people killed in the previous battle. That should reduce the appetite for going to war. - Nigel Lee, Nottingham

HY have men evolved with ceards and women without?

EN have not yet evolved to the stage where they can eat soup without dribbling. — Quentin Burrell, Manchester

Any answers?

spraying champagne over everybody within range? — Bob Heys, Hallfax

teeth she collects? - Natash

WHY, on encountering cold air, does my nose run? —Nicola Marshall, Leamington Spa

damental major key, the one with no sharps or flats in it, is Barnes, Fremantle, Australia

don Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at http://nq.guardlan.co.uk/

Convention on protecting meeting in Strasbourg to press Britain to start a cull "without

More than 30 European and North African countries have urged Britain to cull 3,000 ruddy ducks which migrate southern Spain and mate with white-headed ducks, creating fertile hybrid offspring resembling neither parent. European conservationists

The promiscuous ruddy duck has European conservationists in a flap

say the white-heads' survival is endangered by the ruddy duck, Oxyura jamaicensis, so-called because of its russet-coloured body. In Spain the breed is regarded as an aggressive alien nterloper and shot on sight. Plans for a British cull were

David Harrison

B RITAIN is under pressure to alaughter thousands of sexually voracious wild ducks

threatening the "genetic purity" of birds on the Continent.

dropped last year by the then Environment Secretary, John Gummer, after furious protests by animal welfare groups, local authorities, and owners of land where the ducks breed. Now European and North

that alternatives, such as coating eggs with paraffin to preven hatching, would take too long, and the white-billed duck, Oxyura leucocephala, needed urgent action" to prevent it ecoming extinct.

troups. A society spokesman, realistic conservation ists and saving the white-headed duck means an unplessant decision. Animal welfare groups

denounced the cull as "avian Animal Aid, said: "It's the

Ruddy and white-headed ducks should mate if they produce healthy offspring. This is classic scapegoating in the name of conservation."

Ruddies were introduced to Britain when birds brought from North America escaped from the Slimbridge Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust in Gloucestershire in he 1950s. The breed has sinc found its way into 20 European countries, including Ukraine and Iceland. There are about 3,500 n Britain.

The cull to reduce the number to about 300 would be carried out by marksmen under the auspices of English Nature and would be centred on the Midlands, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Bristol.

The British Department of the **Environment said British** officials had informed the **Environment Minister, Michael** Meacher, of "the strength of feeling expressed by the convention" but he was still considering what steps to take. -The Observer

Quick crossword no. 407

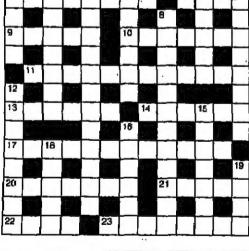
- Do (business) (8 5 Money (4) 9 Turning instrument (5)
- 10 Electronic summoner (7) Messages from fire (5,7)
- 13 Begrudge (6) 14 Of service (6) 17 Unbelievably (7.5)
- 20 Willowherb (7) 21 Respond to stimulus (5) 22 Abominable

snowman (4)

23 Spring flower

Down

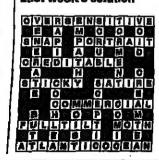
- 1 Inform (4) 2 Greek goddess
- 3 Pipe conveying volce (8,4) 4 Art movement led by Picasso
- 6 Greek letter (5)



7 Aggressive promotion (4,4) Last week's solution 8 Dunnock (5-7)

12 Possessions (8) 15 Amusements, rides, etc (7) 16 Coloured pencil (6) 18 Advantage (5)

19 Pace (4)



Bridge Zia Mahmood

petition: Dennis Ash, of Exeter, has won the £100 first prize, and the two runners-up, who get £50 each, are Vernon, from Venezuela, and Sheila Latham, from Rome.

Congratulations also to Geir Helgemo and Tor Helness of Norway. who won the Macallan International Pairs Championship in London in January. "Won" is an understatement - they had sewn up the event with two matches still to play, and their final score beat all previous records by miles. It was a feat of brilliance, remarkable for the way they consistently demolished the best pairs in the world. Nicola Smith and Pat Davies, the long-time top British ladies, finished second - a magnificent effort, and a pity that it was overshadowed by the Norwegians' achievement. Sabine Auken and Daniela von Arnim, from Germany, completed an excellent ladies' per-

Tony Forrester. I am hoping that I The good news was that I did gain | early.

ONGRATULATIONS to the one day Andrew will be able to for the lead. The bad news was the winners of the Christmas Com- give me! We might have been able had to wait until the next deal with to reverse those placings had this it! This was the full hand: deal not occurred against the runaway winners. The result caused much hilarity when it flashed up on a screen in the Vugraph theatre -

needless to say, it was all my fault. But, I ask you, was what I did really so terrible? Here was my hand at Game All:

♦AKQ54 ♥654 ♦J43 **♣**KQ | ♦ AKQ1096

Andrew and I were playing a strong no trump of 15-17 points, so that was my choice of opening bid. You may feel that with the doubleton honour in clubs, weakness in the red suits and such powerful spades, I ought to have opened one spade rather than 1NT - and after what happened, I might very well agree with you. Hel-gemo, on my left, doubled 1NT for penalties, and the next two players both passed. What would you do

both passed. What would you do with my hand now?

I promised you a few weeks ago that I would let you know how my partnership with Andrew Robson fared in the Macallan. We finished sixth, which, I regret to say, was one place behind Jeff Meckstroth and Tony Forrester. I am hoping that

★ 1072 ♥ K2 ♦ 875 ₩97654

AKQ54 **♥** 654 ♣ KQ

South West North H'gemo R'son Zia Pass . Dble

Helgemo cashed his

WHO started the practice of celebrating victory by

WHAT does the tooth fairy do with all the children's Shenfield, Providence, Rhode Island,

IN WESTERN music, the fun-

called "C". Why not "A"? - Sieve Answers should be e-mailed to ' weekly@guardlan.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Faming-

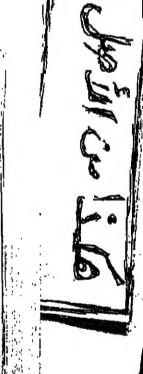
African signatories to the Berne endangered plants and animals have agreed overwhelmingly at a

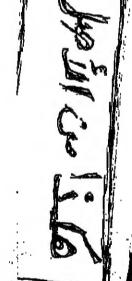
Lustful duck faces 'avian genocide'

Supporters want the cull to begin in the spring. They argue

The alaughter is backed by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and other wildlife Chris Harbard, said: "We're

eugenics" and "species racism". Andrew Tyler, director of laughter of an innocent species in the name of blood purity.





z, is people and its animals.

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camme a gorilla prefers so

"bpass the longueurs of

Composition accomplished

TWAS, to borrow a phrase, better late than never. Last month, 66 years after it was originally commissioned and 64 years after his death, Elgar's unfinished Symphony No 3 received its world première. The work, finished — or "elaborated upon" — by the composer Anthony Payne, received a standing ovation from a packed audience at London's Royal Festival Hall,

Payne said he was exhilarated by the performance. "There was a real sense of occasion. Things happened which hadn't happened before. It just took off like a greyhound.'

Alongside him, Andrew Davis, who conducted the performance by the BBC Symphony Orchestra, admitted that it had been strange playing a new piece by a composer who has been dead for more than

"It is the weirdest feeling. It's like playing the music of a ghost except that he's alive."

Nicholas Kenyon, controller of BBC Radio 3 said: "In the end it doesn't matter if it sounds like Elgar, or who wrote which bit. The question is, does it work as a piece of music, and it most emphatically does."

The triumphant performance may finally put to rest a dispute that has disturbed the calm of Elgar enthusiasts. Some thought that Elgar's last reported wishes about the work - "Don't let anyone tinker with it" - should be respected. But the Elgar Trust agreed to allow Payne to finish the symphony.

sioned by the BBC, at the urge of George Bernard Shaw, to write a symphony. The first performance was scheduled for May 1934 but Elgar died in February that year, leaving only sketches for the work. Although he had expressed a wish for these to be kept private — he even told one acquaintance that they should be burned — they found their way bto the public domain.

In 1993 Payne was approached by the BBC to put some form to the sketches for s workshop. Inspired by the original material, he saw a way of putting a structure to the fragmentary sketches left by Elgar, and eventually completed the first and third movements.

The obstacle to completing the work, the objections of the Elgar family, was eventually overcome when it was realised that copyright would elapse and anyone would be able to tinker with the surviving sketches.

The obstacle to completing the work — the objections of the Eglar family — was eventually overcome when it was realised that copyright would elapse in 2005 and anyone would be able to tinker with the surviving sketches. So in 1995, the family commissioned Payne to com-

plete the symphony. The Eigar-Payne Symphony No 3 now joins the ranks of the other great completed unfinished works including Puccini's Turandot, Mozart's Requiem, Mahler's 10th Symphony, and Bartok's Violin



The BBC Symphony Orchestra performs Elgar's unfinished Third Symphony, now completed by Anthony Payne PHOTO: MARTIN GODWIN

E DWARD ELGAR'S descen-

dants took a brave step when won't ape it they agreed to Anthony Payne's making an "elaboration" of the sketches for the Third Symphony, and there could not have been a more triumphant vindication of their boldness than the first public their boldness than the first public their boldness than the first public the state of the sketches for the ske performance of the score last TENSIVE and extensive week, which ended with justifier search has revealed that praise for Payne, conductor Andrew seaho watch TV at three Davis and the BBC Symphony Estata the afternoon are Orchestra

No one pretends that the result is inhea/plumbers/gorillas. unadulterated Elgar, though some transport of the precision of the passages incontrovertibly are. But appacounts for daytime TV. what we can hear is a wonderfully satisfying symphonic structure, with the emotional sweep and bitter. sweet flavour of the real composer Intendent House in Wilt-

The structure has a breadth and Ehail run every afternoon natural pacing that are unnistal ill weks. That's a lot of tape. ably Elgarian. The best tunes are as the BBC prefers to put it, memorable as anything in the estab is dise most ambitious factual lished works; the tender, delicate protecter undertaken for TV. second theme of the first move logicals gorillas are Nico ment; the gossamer lightness of the sismba. They live on an scherzo; the stirring call to attention that opens the finale.

Where some of that music might work Meldrew. As their have come from is perhaps the most sarsaid, "They have mated fascinating aspect of the work. In said years and now they're his final years, Elgar was also work | 144 She definitely doesn't ing on his first opera (also left unfin ! silmattractive and makes it ished). It is reasonable to suppose that he studied other composers' stage works when writing his own. Perhaps that accounts for the flavour of Puccini at several points. | Puinteracting," he added

We like to think of Elgar as an un-L'faything, that puts them Eller're more interested in reconstructed romantic, but in fact, he lived through the most tunns tuous period in the history of music he was born a year after Schumann died, yet he died in the year that Harrison Birtwistle was born.

Perhaps at the end of life some of those huge changes started to seep the more of what was so into his own music, and perhaps had he lived to complete this work. And a reaction I have only they would have been more apparaid before among actors. ent. But for what we are now able to hear of them, everyone should be hugely grateful to Anthony Payne.

Love among the Troubles . . . Daniel Day-Lewis and Emily Watson in Jim Sheridan's The Boxer

My right hook

CINEMA

Richard Williams

WOMAN is watching a boxing match. One of the fighters is an old boyfriend. He wins, and searches for her face in the crowd. Needing to disguise the depth of her allegiance, she gives her neighbour a little smile and a shrug, then turns away. It's a nument of subtlety, one of many devised to counterpoint the harshness of the topics that concern The

Can you take another film about boxing? Can you take another film about Northern Ireland? You can. You will. This is the third collabora-Lewis. After the success of My Left Foot and In The Name Of The Father we come to their projects with high expectations, so it must have been my fault that the advance publicity had fooled me into expecting a film primarily about Day-Lewis's immersion in the craft and culture of boxing. I was wrong.

Set in West Belfast, The Boxer is about conflict, and how hard it can be to resolve. And although it may simply be a very good film, rather than a great one, I came out of it feeling that hardly ever do you see a movie so carefully and honestly analysing the complexity of conflict, so intelligent in its exposure of the roots of evil acts, so unwilling to cut emotional corners.

Day-Lewis plays Danny Kelly, 32 years old, a former boxing prodigy and IRA soldier. When we meet him he's being released after 14 years in jail, where he kept him-self fit, changed his mind about the application of violence to political problems, and cocooned himself in near-silence. He goes looking for tion between the writer-director Jim
Sheridan and the actor Daniel Daywho's hit the bottle. Together they return to the site of their old nonsectarian boxing club, and decide to

The gym is part of a community centre, where Danny can't avoid seeing Maggie (Emily Watson), his pre-lail sweetheart and the daughter. of an IRA boss. While Danny was inside, Maggie married his best

friend. Now the husband is inside, and Maggie is bringing up a school-boy son. Danny and Maggie circle each other; eventually she breaks his silence. But, as an IRA prisoner's wife, she may not publicly respond to the rebirth of their relationship. and their meetings have to take place clandestinely — the riskiest being a tryst on the Protestant side of the "peace line".

Around them swirl the lethal disagreements created by the peace process. Maggie's father (Brian Cox) sees the ceasefire as a logical step. His licutenant, Harry (Gerard McSorley), is implacably opposed. To him, Danny and Maggie - and the boxing club - symbolise betrayal and surrender.

On the surface, nothing about the film is remotely original, from the basic Angels With Dirty Faces setting to the story of lovers separated by war. What makes the film exceptional is the three-dimensional nature of its humanity, reflected in a set of fine performances. Only the dismissal of Maggie's marriage — a key point, licensing the audience's approval of her interest in Danny -

seems poorly explained.

And the boxing? Day-Lewis completely convincing, thanks to Barry McGuigan's tutelage and his

own aptitude and enthusiasm. Filmed by Chris Menges and edited by Gerry Hambling with enormous verve, the fight sequences tran-scend their rather clunky metaphorical significance. A real referee would have stopped the climactic bout half a minute earlier, but this perceptive, affecting and entertaining film certainly earns its right to go the distance. Neil Jordan's adaptation of The

Butcher Boy, Patrick McCabe's exceptional 1992 novel, is distinguished by the performance of Eamonn Owens as Francie Brady, the only son of a dysfunctional Southern Irish family. This is a boy whose naughtiness shades helplessly into real mischief, a Holden Caulfield or a William Brown taken to the limit.

For all the artfulness of Jordan's direction, which includes the apparition of Sinead O'Connor as a cher ishably down-to-earth Virgin Mary, the film's credibility rests on our re sponse to a boy with a penchant for redressing slights via arson and homicide. The red-haired, hhint-featured, 15-year-old Owens conveys the distorted enthusiasm of the somewhat younger Francie with great conviction. Stephen Rea plays both his father, a feekless musician and the grown-up Francie we see in the final sequence; as a priest is charge of a reformatory, Brendan Gleeson produces the latest in a string of memorable performances.

When Sergel Bodrov's Prisoner of the Mountains was premiered in Russia two years ago, the war in Chechenya was still on the go. To us, it is remarkable not just for its dramatic integrity but for the sense of another world in its portraval of the conflict between the Russian army and the Chechen nationalists.

Two Russian soldiers, the wily Sacha (Oleg Menchikov) and the naive Vanya (Sergei Bodrov Jr) are captured and offered in exchange for the son of a Chechen elder. When negotiations go awry, the causes of the war are exposed.

Scenery, acting and music work wonderfully well together. The sight of a Muslim cemetery, a field of crooked stones, is quietly breathtaking. Black irony is everywhere, not least when the soldiers, in legirons, are led into the mountains to the sound of Louis Armstrong leading a gospel choir in Let My People Go. And the relationship between Vanya and Dina, the elder's 12-yearold daughter, played by Susanna Makhralieva, becomes a thing of uncategorisable tenderness.

The enemy of complacency

British theatre has sunk into a terrible rut, says Michael Billington. Time to stir the ghost of Brecht

strange question to ask as we celebrate the centenary of his birth. But is Bertolt Brecht and all he stood for, as dramatist, director and theorist, now consigned to history?

Glancing round the British theatre today, you might be forgiven for thinking so. In Berlin, Robert Wilson has just staged his radio feature, Der Ozeanflug, at the Ensemble, and Brecht's iconic, cigarsmoking countenance adorns the cover of endless magazines. But here, only Manchester and Edinburgh are marking the Brecht birthday with new productions, although in the autumn Kathryn Hunter directs The Right Size in Mr Puntila And His Servant, Matti at the Almeida theatre in London, Brecht, you might conclude, is thought to be slightly old hat in Britain, Yet now, more than ever, we need to reexamine Brecht and ask what he still has to teach us.

At first, the cards would seem to be stacked against him. Eric Bentley once quoted Brecht as saying that his future as a dramatist depended on the survival of socialism semble at the Old Vic in 1965, and of the way the Brechtian aesthetic has the way the way the Brechtian aesthetic has the way the way the

S BRECHT dead? It may seem a called "a strategically astute, per-strange question to ask as we sonalised Marxism", it would seem as if the collapse of European communism has dealt him a mortal blow. In Britain, we are living in an aggressively post-ideological age. It is no accident that two of last year's most popular theatrical revivals were of Waiting For Godot and The Chairs — plays based on the idea that mankind is helpless in the face of a meaningless universe.

Other factors today militate stage; most theatres are virtually | We seem to have bankrupt. His plays require companies; we have hardly any left. Above all, his plays require alert audiences and directors ready to have their assumptions challenged; yet we are heading towards a middlebrow cosiness symbolised by the - to me. anyway — astonishing fact that the National Theatre this summer will be offering us revivals of Oklahoma! and The Prime Of Miss Jean Brodie.

Yet Brecht has had a decisive impact on British theatre. Richard | Olivier, the Swan, the Young Vic, as | pressive Catholic Church, We pos-Eyrc speaks of the "epiphany" he such as converted or "found" spaces seem to have lost the Brechtian such as Manchester's Royal Ex-

rightly claims that Brecht radically affected classical theatre in the sixties: he points to Peter Hall's The Wars Of The Roses at Stratford and the work of William Gaskill and John Dexter at Olivier's National Theatre. Indeed, Brechtian values affected every aspect of British theatre: plays such as Osborne's The Entertainer and Bolt's A Man For All Seasons, the ascetic purity of Jocelyn Herbert's design and even the militant commitment of Ken Tynan's criticism were all heavily influenced by Brecht.

But where does that leave us today? Relics of Brecht's influence

lost the Brechtlan anti-heroic heroes

survive. In the shape of our theatres, for instance which, since the sixties, have been designed on anti-

also left its mark on British dramaturgy. Even British acting is not unaffected by the Brechtian contraliction: that the spectators should feel different emotions from those being expressed on stage. Alex Jennings's current Hamlet, for instance, suffers suicidal anget; yet, far from empathising, we feel that his pain is in excess of the situation.

Brecht is somehow invisibly pre-sent. Yet the truth is that British theatre in the late nineties is an odd mixture of influences, a weird compound made up of Brecht, Stanislavsky, Artaud, Brook, the violence of Tarantino, the showbiz speciacle of David Belasco and Cecil B De Mille, the physicality of Jacques Lecoq, the antic comedy of Dario Fo. We do the classics but we

What do we remember Brecht for? Great roles, as well as great plays, that define particular moral dilemmas. Shen Teh, in The Good Person Of Sezchuan, forced to invent a ruthless male cousin in order to exist in an imperfect world; Mother Courage confronting the conflict be-tween the business-ethic and an ensixties, have been designed on anti-illusionist lines — think of the subversive scientific truth and an op-

poused what George Steiner once shaped his own work. David Hare montage, reason and argument, has was that "mankind is alterable and

can have a good laugh), but recountry is not like that. It able to alter". We seem to have re placed that with a belief that we are all trapped by circumstance. Even the most viaceral, popular young plays of today imply that there is little hope of change: in Patrick Marber's Closer the characters end up acknowledging their inviolable solitude, in Phyllis Nagy's Never Land the hero is quite clearly the victim of fate. Of plays currently on offer, only Hare's Arny's View implies the possibility of redemption. But you don't have to buy Brecht's personalised Marxism to believe that society and placed that with a belief that we are Marxism to believe that society and

the individual can be changed.

Brecht also has much to teach us

Brecht a about the classics — Shakespeare about the classics — Shakespeare especially. It doesn't mean applying the same style to every play; what it the same size to every play; what it does mean is asking the same questions. Why are we doing the play? In the cultury system is your drama flails around in search of a what world is it taking place? And what are the social relationships be defining form.

what are the social relationships are tween the characters?

Man cannot live by Brecht alone I accept that. He is now simply one of a variety of influences at work a variety of influences at work. The present ament to be a hippy but the disponential cash the paintings are a variety of influences at work. The present the paintings are a variety of influences at variety of influences at variety of influences at variety of influences at variety of influences. But Brecht brought to theare fundamental seriousness, a rigorous fundamental seriousness, and a belief in the capac sesthetic, and a belief in the capac sesthetic sestimates and change that we see that the capac sesthetic sestimates are capacitally sestimated by the capacital sestimat ity for action and change that w ity for action and change tion to the House have lost in our current complete to the devohave lost in our current compared to the devo-cency. Brecht still bas much to the Wessex. Most peers get teach us, and this seems as good a private whom some Opening time as any to start learning.

Michael Billington was voted

Michael Billington was voted

Critic of the Year for the third time in third time in third time in the street, crying resplenting "House of Lorde!"

Golden Bear hug for Brazilian odyssey

work.

BERLIN FILM FESTIVAL

Derek Malcolm

DESPITE the presence of several Oscar-nominated Hollywood epics in the competition, Berlin's of the cinema novo directors, such 48th Film Festival gave its Golden as Glauber Rocha, shot their best Bear this week to a much smaller film from Brazil, Walter Salles's Central Station. This was the first time that a Latin American film has gathered itself a major European festival award since 1981, when Leon Hirszman's They Don't Wear Black Tle won the special jury prize

at the Venice festival. Hirazman was a representative of the radical cinema novo movement private where people won't but Not Lord Bath. He strug-dino all the gorgeous scarlet of the sixties and seventies. Salles is a young director attempting to get away from the commercialisation of Brazilian cinema since that era.

His film, a well-made and sympathetic neo-realist portrait of an unemployed teacher, who now writes boy to an illegal adoption agency

letters for the illiterate, and her friendship with a 14-year-old boy she finds on Rio de Janeiro's Central Station, leaves Rio for the countryside halfway through. It thus moves into the same territory where many

The award was scarcely a surprise, even at this mammoth festival, now easily the largest in Europe, where such American stars as Robert De Niro rub shoulders with actors and directors from some of the smallest film-making countries in the world. Central Station the competition, suggesting that the public still want to see simple,

warm-hearted human stories. In addition, Fernanda Montenegro won the best actress prize for. her part as the former teacher, a

his father. The Americans, however, won

several prizes. Barry Levinson's Wag The Dog, with De Niro and Dustin Hoffman, won the special jury award; Ben Affleck, the young writer and star of Gus Van Sant's Good Will Hunting, was given the prize for the best single achieve-

impressive Jackie Brown. One of the finest films in the competition, however, was Alain Resnais's Same Old Song, a tribute was one of the most popular films in to the British playwright Dennis which specialises in radical cinema, the competition, suggesting that the Potter in which the cast sing went to the Israeli director Ron (mostly dubbed) snatches of popular songs from the thirties, forties and fifties as the ironically romantic plot develops.

string of famous art movies in the troubled century.

sixties, has made in terms of the French box-office, and he might have got more for it than the career award the international jury gave

The other much-liked film was Neil Jordan's The Butcher Boy, which won him best director and Eamonn Owens a special mention about growing up in Ireland.

Only one very worthy effort was overlooked - the Australian film ment and Samuel L Jackson won | The Boys, taken by Rowan Woods best actor prize for his role in from a play by Gordon Graham: it is Quentin Tarantino's overlong but a coruscating drama about a working-class family whose sons are involved in a rape and murder. !

Finally, the International critics prize for the Forum programme, Havilio for his six-hour docu-drama called Fragments: Jerusalem. The film took him more than 10 years to piece together from archive footage It is the most successful film the and is a unique social, cultural and woman who at first tries to sell the 75-year-old Resnals, director of a political history of the city during a



Where pluralism is the order of the day | does he fall for a "golden age" | fallacy of a sovereign legislature

Peter Hennessy

Parliament Under Pressure by Peter Riddell Gollancz 256pp £20

PETER RIDDELL straddles more successfully than any other political commentator the jagged edge, sharpened by mutual parody and even incomprehensibility, which all too often separates those who practise government and politics in Whitehall and Westminster from those who write about them in British universities.

He is abreast of the scholarly literature and is sometimes its sole megaphone in the quality press, where he trims its findings of jargon

direction, he absorbs the realities and the hidden processes of life in No 10, the Cabinet Room, the Civil Service and Parliament before the phenomenon, even within the transmitting them to those whose lives are largely bounded by the library and the seminar room.

ter down to undergraduates. Both will need to read and absorb Parliament Under Pressure swiftly and

legitimacy, accountability and scrutiny in Britain's system of gov- diminishing to that of a flea.

to a wider audience. In the reverse | leave their transforming imprint on the UK as the centuries turn.

Westminster faces a battery of rivals but seems largely oblivious to committee on modernisation. Riddell anatomises them coolly and Riddell's singular status arises from his being listened to with particular care from the Prime Minis-Commission. Parliament and Court), and a UK judiciary waving the soon-to-be-incorporated Euro-

pean Convention on Human Rights, Why? Because there is a danger to the privatised utility regulators, that the crucial, central motor of pressure groups, think tanks and a media whose attention span is fast

whose reach trumped all other forms of power and influence. His reform plan eschews the "big bang" approach of those who argue that true modernity lies in a polity rid of its monarchy, driven by the kind of rationality that only a fully written constitution can provide. It is, how-ever, a realisable prospectus for boosting the parliamentary element in our system which will discomfit not just the "big bangers" but the very executive-minded occupant of No 10, who does not warm to the

Crime

Lucretia Stewart

The Hanging Garden, I

Rankin (Orion, £16.99)

THERE'S gang warfare; streets of Edinburgh;

Newcastle, a Chechen game.

Pink Eyes, is bringing religi

Britain and running them a

tutes. Inspector John Rein

Rankin's Scots cop here, is

down in paperwork from his

gation of a suspected Nazin

inal. When he rescues a de-

Bosnian prostitute calling

Candice, who reminds him

daughter, he finds himselfil

personally caught up in that ing violence. Gritty, author

Dead Room Farce, by Sing

Brett (Gollancz, £16.99)

■ OBBING actor Charles?

crime fiction today, always le

pearing in a farce called %

superbly written.

idea of institutionalised criticism. For, as Riddell recognises, the Blair programme is built on a paradox - a reshaping of the state with greater pluralism as its goal, driven by the kind of self-belief and disdain where he trims its findings of jargon ernment will fail amid the flurry of and opacity before projecting them constitutional changes that will Parliament past or present. Neither strip even Mrs Thatcher herself. for dissent that is shaping up to out-

> interviewees - a Canadian reargunner likening the sound of flak to "eating apples in church"; a Kiwi sergeant major asking recruits if they could play the piano then send-ing any pianists off to shovel coal; an Indian soldier at Kohima witnessing Japan's genius for improvisation - an elephant with a howitzer on its back. And a young British naval officer, ordered to capture the Vichy island of Mayotte in the Indian Ocean, landing "in the whaler with my braves", finding everyone asleep and the Governor "in bed with somebody else's wife". A war intended to save the Empire led, ultimately, to its dissolu-

planned certain changes when they arrived home. The first African to tervened, to be paid Malta Artillery rates, or two-thirds of what the

well-written.

had to endure the ignominy South Africa imposed on its black soldiers.

from a European private." Yet they faced the enemy to-

their Fifth Infantry Brigade died near Tobruk, white soldiers and black stretcher bearers were buried in a common grave — until South African army headquarters decreed that the corpses be exhumed and buried separately. Whites who made it home received a plot of land, a government grant and a free university place. The blacks, recalls Frank Sexwale: "were given about £6 — that included a pair of trousers - and a bicycle if you had a job. Personally I did not even get a bicycle, because I was not employed. They said to me, Well, you have no



the most endearing than there's account of the 1967 Six Day war is a gripping read

same problems: sex, book, at the crossroads of history

Pernille Rygg (Harvill, £158 TERRIFIC first novel by a was are in disarray, a muddle Norwegian writer. It is aduced by fiscal atringency Oslo where Igi Heitmann's Lacological confusion. Plans for private detective, was killed a symbolic events have been and-run incident. Igi remains, toped amidst popular apathy. Acvinced that her lathers des 10 to the Jerusalem Report, an accident; the discovery: Free little sense of unity, and not body of a young woman in a much agreement on what it ing church seems to reinfor this be Israeli or Zionist".

EXCELLENT thriller ke Fig gaze of the Jewish Diaspora, husband-and-wife Thomas in than the interrogative mood Charlotte Pitt. Barely kee Pious to Israel. As usual he

Intriguing story abo

Europe sirmali

and memory in which there between British and Zionist and memory in which have seed by while Palestine was ruled revealed not to be as they seed whitehall. Parallel sections on To order any of the book a modern Jewish community of To order any or the reviewed or in print, our colors available to the suffer badly from the thic structure.

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Nations partition plan in 1947. When Yigal Allon, an army commander charged with enforcing "Plan D", which sanctioned the expulsion of Arabs from strategically sensitive zones and captured territory, asked Ben Gurion, the prime minister, what to do about the 50,000 Arabs of Lydda and Ramle, the leader replied: "Expel them."

Gilbert records that hundreds of Palestinians perished in this ethnic cleansing while the remainder aboured under repressive legislation until the 1960s. This muchdelayed acknowledgment of injustice is an essential ingredient of any reconciliation between Jews and Arabs.

Compared with his brilliant evocation of the battlefield, the treatment of Israel's social and economic development is disappointing. With questionable judgment Gilbert uses Fodor's guide to Israel to explain

Ben Gurion is the hero, bullying a diverse population into a nation, but little is said about the cost. Zionism became an insipid statism. The past was literally excavated for integrative myths, such as the Zealots' "heroic defence" of Massada against the Romans, which engendered an essentially negative, defensive men-tality. From Massada to the Warsaw Stoughton, £16.99)

The paint settlement. Zionism the Romans, which engendered an essentially negative, defensive mentality. From Massada to the Warsaw Ghetto, Jews were depicted fighting and dying heroically, but for what? Once the existential threat subsided this question would implode Israeli acciety. Culture is the key to understanding she would rathe the origins of the Balfour Intriguing story about the part, and the dy-

ration in 1917, and the dy- with diplomacy and military history, giving an exemplary account of the 1956 Suez campaign without fudging the blatant anti-Egyptian collusion between Israel, France and Britain. The account of the 1967 Six Day war is a gripping read, while his narrative of the Yom Kippur war is immensely moving. Golda Meir's obduracy provoked that war, but she escapes lightly at Gilbert's hands. He is less charitable to the praces the explosive "new his advocates of settlement in the occurescarched by young Jewish pied territories who were galwhich that challenges many of vanised by Israel's 1967 victory, or the divisive religious extremism

Rest of the world similar of the Jewish National Add 30% of order and a special price of E20,

This is a very personal history, relecting Gilbert's friendship with Shimon Peres and his admiration or Yitzhak Rabin. Their lives are a thread running through the story, more textured than the careers of Begin, Shamir and Netanyahu.

After briskly narrating the road to the peace process, its initial, euphoric stages and Rubin's assassina tion, the book suffers a dying fall. It ends with a rather perfunctory summary of Israeli society in the 1990s. His failure to get under the skin of Israeli life is the greatest weakness of this otherwise admirable chronicle. Gilbert nods towards the emergence of a vibrant Hebrew culture. but there is no mention of Israel's pulsating rock music scene, its dynamic film industry, or the ethnic sub-cultures and popular religion that together bind Israeli society more effectively than clapped-out Zionist rhetoric.

HE founders hoped Israel would be a light to the nations and regenerate world Jewry. In this respect, it is a glorious ailure. At 50, Israel has to decide whether to be a Jewish state or a state which includes many faiths and ethnicities. It has to decide whether to be a pluralistic democracy which gives equal rights to all those under its sovereignty, or to perpetuate domination over another people. Even if Israells opt for a modest but "Jewish" state, they still have to decide the content of that Jewishness. If religious orthodoxy sets the benchmark, civil rights will suffer and so will ties to the Diaspora, which is

predominantly non-orthodox. Most likely, a synthesis will emerge like the hip-hop chazanut (rabbinic singing) or the Hebrew ballads sung to Arabic melodies played on electric guitars by blond, blue-eyed "Jews" from Odessa who have decided on the basis of their own hybrid experience that it is better to live by messy compromise than to die for neat dogma. The fact that the disorderly and unconstrained debate goes on despite the strain of war and the burden of mass immigration is the true monumen to Israel's achievement

Lithuanian odyssey

Anthony Julius

leschet's Kingdom oy Dan Jacobson lamish Hamilton 256pp £15.99

F ONE wanted to write an autobiography, where would one start? Not, of course, with the moment of one's own arrival in the world. That would amount to the claim that one was self-created, which is selfevidently absurd. Perhaps, then, with one's parents, one's authors. That at least would offer some context, some explanatory background, to one's life. But what about one's grandparents, or at least a grandparent whose life had a special bearing on one's own? Wouldn't that ancestor also deserve a place in any conscientious account of one's life?

Although Dan Jacobson's book is more than an autobiography, he answers this question affirmatively, and illuminatingly. His account of his grandfather's life, and the lives of his grandfather's family, supplements the autobiographical Time And Time Again, which placed Jacobson first in South Africa, and then in England. In Heschel's Kingdom, South Africa still figures, but England has given way to Lithuania, as Jacobson makes the journey to the country of his grandparents. It's the most recent of four important journeys recounted in the book, "By evoking the shadow of my grandfather," writes Jacobson, "I hope to discover elements in his life and mine

which are now hidden from me." Jacobson's maternal grandfather: Heschel Melamed, a rabbi with a community in the Lithuanian town of Varniai, visited the United States n 1912. He intended to bring his family over, provided that what he saw met with his approval. But it did not. The Jews were secular, or at least non-observant. It was not a place in which Orthodox Jews would want to live. (He did not appreciate - and who can blame him? - that Lithuania would shortly cease to be a place where Jews of any kind could live). His assessment of the US was not altogether misconceived. Though there are certainly pockets of orthodoxy i America, the rate of assimilation very high and the chances are that Heschel's family would not have remained faithful to the tenets of Judalsm had they emigrated there.

And so the family stayed

Lithuania — their one chance of escaping the Holocaust denied to them by Heschel's commitment to religious orthodoxy. But then, just seven years later, Heschel died. This early, unexpected death was the saving of them. So important and benign an event was it that Jacobson describes it as a gift: "the suddenly, at the age of 53, leaving them penniless and helpless." This predicament prompted the family to eave their home, though for South Africa rather than the US.

Had Heschel not died prematurely, Jacobson is convinced that they would have stayed in Lithuania right up to the Nazi invasion, when their fate would have been sealed. Such was the horrendous speed of the slaughter that between June and August 1941, most of the Jews in the provinces were murdered; between end. As Jacobson recounts this ter-

try roughly the size of Ireland, 600 years of Jewish life were brought to an end over a period of 10 weeks only". Only one in 20 Jews survived

As it was, Heschel's family were among the lucky few beyond the embrace of that statistic. In South Africa they found safety and precisely that secular alternative to orthodoxy whose prospect had so dismayed Heschel, Thus, despite his best efforts, his family did not stay in Lithuania and did not remain religious, though this did not lead them (Jacobson remarks with pride) "to adopt the banally leftwing views which attracted so many secular Jews of their generation". Jacobson traces the trajectory of their lives in Kimberley, though what they did there seems to matter rather less than the fact that they were there, rather than in Lithuania It is as if, in answer to the question "What was their South Africa like?" the best and most revealing answer to be given is: "It wasn't Lithuania."

And so, after many years of living in one not-Lithuania (South Africa) and then another (England). Jacob son decided to visit Lithuania itself. Heschel's Kingdom is, in part, the book of that journey, although to de



Jacobson: masterly work

scribe it as a travel book would be an injustice to the complexity of its achievement. With his son Simon, he stayed first in Vilnius, then in Varnial itself, and then in Kelme. He found the seediness that one would expect, and the poverty, of course, and also traces of anti-Semitism. (In an unpleasant, slightly ambiguous experience, Jacobson is spat at by someone in the crowd. "Why?" asks Simon. "Because I am a Jew," replies Jacobson.)

What he did not find, however, any trace of his grandfather. He has had for years odd items of his grandfather's. - a photograph, an address book, a spectacles case and some spectacles — but when he goes back he finds nothing. This "failure". Jacobson remarks, "die not dishearten or disappoint me. On the contrary, I had come close enough to it, and to him."

Near the end of this masterly and moving work, Jacobson tells a story about the memorial stone in Kelme commemorating the massacre of Jews there. The inscription understates the number killed: 483 rather than something close to 2,000. Local Jewa complained, but were compelled to give way. And then, their spokesman said, with irony: "All right, you can put down the number September and November, most of you want. But then you've got to the Jews in the cities met a similar give us back the missing fifteen hundred people. Alive." On which rible time. "in towns and villages | Jacobson comments: "That, I sup-The which the fighting gave to Geva, the tank commander who re- contact CultureShop (See page 28) scattered all over Lithuania, a coun- pose must be called a Jewish joke."



Men of the North West Frontier constabulary at Shabkader during the second world war

Imperial Britain's last call to arms

Alexander Frater

Our War: How the British Commonwealth Fought the Second World War by Christopher Somerville Weldenfeld & Nicolson 364pp £25

becalmed in the aliens' queue at Heathrow after a Qantas or Air New Zealand arrival. Apart from their age and a few badges there's nothing to indicate they perhaps survived Tobruk or 50 missions over Germany. That only happens when you see them suddenly comprehend that, while they stand corralled with the lepers, across in the EU channel old Luftwaffe personrench collaborators (all gaily flourishing their claret passports) go hurtling through unimpeded. Then

their eyes grow flinty. These are recollections of the second world war told largely in the words of ageing Commonwealth combatants like them. Five million joined up. 170,000 lost their lives. It may seem eccentric to produce a volume of martial memoirs so long after the event but Somerville (who has an ancestral interest; his grandfather was a wartime Admiral of the Fleet) got lucky. Faced by a diminishing choir of voices he still managed to find several dozen lucid, articulate men and women with long memories; they, in turn, found a skilled and sympathetic inquisitor. The did them no favours, assigning

been worth the wait.

When Chamberlain made his too; London's clever constitutiona

tralia and New Zealand moved immediately, South Africa dithered for days, Canada waited a whole week. Yet the Canadians, all volunteers, have contributed some of the book's | telegrams between Downing Street more robust interviews. In Britain and the new Labour PM John they were kept hanging around end- Curtin "who wouldn't be bullied. lessly, being drilled by British This class system," recalled Char-

fellers going to lectures with the | been ... gone." fancy scarf around their neck; and here we are from 5,000 miles away, fighting their battles for then!"

apocalyptic broadcast on September 3, 1939, India and the colonies found, much to their surprise, that they had declared war on Germany lawyers ensured all that was buried in the small print. (Though many Indians expressed anger, 2.5 million eventually elected to fight.) Mean-while out in the dominions — free to make up their own minds — Aus-

NCOs they detested and confronted by social attitudes they deplored. lie Hobbs, "it showed up, and the Canadians resented it ... When we were stationed at Upper Heyford we were close to Oxford. Here's this gorgeous old university, with the our loved ones at home would have

Some blamed Churchill for months of tedium and inactivity. "He had a hatred for Canadians, maybe because we were gallivanting, or taking his women around." Certainly, when he finally acted,

This book may be overdue but it's | them to Mountbatten's botched Dieppe Raid; 906 perished, a further 2.195 were marched off to prison camps. Preparations for the flasco, one claimed, could be followed by any German with binoculars on the French coast. "They were there waiting for us. In fact, one . . . actually asked. What took you so long?"
The Australians didn't care for

Churchill either, mainly because of his reluctance to allow them home after Japan's declaration. "I don't think Churchill thought more of the Australians", remarked one, "than we thought of him." Another recalled the acrimonious exchange of The upshot was that Curtin said.

"They're my troops: get stuffed'." The emotions Churchill seemed unable to comprehend were expressed by a retired Melbourne solicitor and New Guinea veteran. "You were fighting, literally, for Australia . . . We had to do it, otherwise

Occasionally Somerville's linking text reads as if written for GCSE purposes: "India, the jewel in the crown, was the paramount symbol of the power and pride of Imperial Britain . . . How the British had managed to hold it all together for so long is hard to explain." (Though he does try.)

tion. People who endured shelling by the enemy and, in many cases, racial discrimination by "friends" be granted a commission in Britain, Sergeant Seth Anthony from the Gold Coast - known, wittily, as Blondie — was, until somebody in-

whites got.
Dudley Thompson, a Jamaican navigator bomb-aimer who flew Lancasters over Germany, recalls wryly: There were feelings that men of colour had not properly proved themselves as combatants. But combat helped him clarify his own ideas; he became a Rhodes Scholar, a QC and a member of Ja-

maica's senate, fought colonialism "Just half a stage from slavery" - tooth and nail. But even he never

Since Pretoria didn't want them trained in the use of modern weaponry the 77,239 men who enlisted in the Native Military Corps drilled with assegnis, were given non-combatant roles and never allowed to forget their status: "army discipline stipulated that an African sergeant should take orders

gether and, when 224 members of Enlightenment is provided by his | job - you don't need a bicycle'."

remove Arabs from areas allotted to | fused to bombard Beirut during the the Israeli state by the United | disastrous 1982 Lebanese venture. Your Wife. Then someone de and Cosarani

Charles, as usual, comes ir The Butterfly Effect, by Friday 619pp £25

MELS 50th birthday celebra-

is uncertainty is faintly regis-Pentecost Alley, by Annah tit of Israel's origins, birth and (Collins Crime, £16.99) | five decades. Gilbert epitoshe view from without: the ad-

after Jack the Ripper terrors 7,8 the style and structure of East End, a killer is once struck, presenting events in work in the backstree a sequence. He effaces the nar-Whitechapel and going it voice, making documents, prostitutes. Despite the voice, making documents, it voice, making documents, the control of the voice o kel instantly at home.

Lipstick and Lies, by Less Standers of the Zionist move-Grant-Adamson (Hodder Standers) psinful settlement. Zionism

tadual flowering of the yishuv,

Phone: (+44) 181 324 50 he savage tripartite war be-Fac: (+44) 181 324 50 lews, Arabs and, decreas-Fac: (+44) 181 524 50 like British from 1945 to 1949 frounted unsparingly. Gilbert in-

This founding myths.

It divisive renground that burgeoned in its wake.

Cilbert's affection is with the divisive renground that burgeoned in its wake.

IMON and Garfunkel could not have composed a more lonely railway station setting than that for the smartly dressed man sitting at one end of Southampton Central. Here, last Saturday evening, sat a manager very much alone with his thoughts.

Roy Hodgson's ticket for his destination was taking him nowhere more romantic than Croydon but this was a more disappointing journey than most for Blackburn's muchtravelled manager. He was making a dignified retreat from the venue where his team's championship pursuit had effectively terminated.

Hodgson, however, is in good company in being defeated by a Southampton side brimming with new expectations, fuelled by another man who increasingly looks worthy of at least a commendation when it comes to Premiership Manager of the Year. In less than two months David Jones's team have humbled Manchester United, Liverpool and Chelsea.

The ambitious Jones will not settle for a highly respectable 11th place — "Now we're there, I want us to be higher; I'm a bit greedy" -but Hodgson will settle for any place in Europe. As for the biggest prize, the Premiership title, he admits: "It's going to take a minor miracle to overtake Manchester United."



Egil Ostenstad scores Southampton's first goal PHOTO: MATTHEWASHTON

checked a clutch of tringe players for France 98. He must have left The Dell with a higher impression of Matthew Le Tissier, whose purposeful performance mirrored the team's and was all the better for his claim that he did not know the national coach was watching. Sadly for Black-burn — if not for Hoddle — England refusenik Chris Sutton (a virus) was

Hoddle can enter in his dossier

Realism weighed heavily on that Le Tissier, so often seemingly Glenn Hoddle's thoughts, too, as he the detached drifter of The Dell, is lighter by half a stone after a new diet, and hungrier. He helped Egil Ostenstad to the Norwegian's curious first goal, which looked a coun-try mile offside, and provided a shoal of unaccepted ones for David Hirst, who finally scored emphatically after Colin Hendry appeared to be pushed and Jeff Kenna unaccountably fell

> Hodgson justifiably complained about those two goals but, equally

correctly, blamed his team for dire defending for the third. Richard Dryden hoofed hopefully upfield, Hendry misread the bounce and Ostenstad confidently rounded Tim

Tennis

Rusedski top

in battle of

the blasters

Stephen Bierley in Antwerp

in the final of the prosalcally

Rusedski dented Rosset's

studded golden racket-shaped

trophy on offer to anyone who

His game, like Rusedski's, is

hopes of claiming a diamond-

named European Commun

It was another day for Blackburn to forget, following an identical de-feat at home to Tottenham. That was arguably the freak Premiership result of the season; this, at the hands of a vibrant Southampton. was unquestionably not.

Hodgson knew the reasons but did not voice them. Instead Jones said everything for him: "We closed them down, shut them out all over the pitch. We scurried, we worked hard." But is that not mainly what has underpinned Blackburn's resurgence this season?

Blackburn offer more than that: they are a well organised, intelligent team in their manager's image. In Damien Duff, Hodgson knows he has a rare teenage talent: pace, quick feet and the self-belief that distinguishes the outstanding. But the winger had no Sutton or, after 68 minutes, Martin Dahlin to aim for. The Swedish striker closed his first starting appearance in four months by walking off, seemingly without word or gesture to the dugout, when he was substituted.

the victory that will secure the Hodgson has seen it all before. but said Dahlin had "not shown solidarity with his colleagues". Perhaps underpinned by a huge serve they will not be colleagues too much and supported by a sometimes onger. Jones, for his part, attempted withering forehand, although or put to rest fears over two of his this occasion neither weapon strikers after a week of renewed speculation about Ostenstad and the injured leading scorer Kevin Davies. He put a high price tag on both.

was consistently dangerous. Rusedski had besten Rosst for the first time in three meetings on his way to the Croatian Indoor final last month, where

Rusedski . . . upwardly mobile

an early advantage. On a fairly slow indoor con Rusedski had struggled all web to impose his serve, and Rosse forced three break points in the third game, but it was a measur of the British player's expanding resolve and maturity that he

saved the lot. Then it was Rosset's turn to struggle, but he demonstrat covering from 0-40 down in the And so to the near which Rusedski gained the edg

appeared to be an over-hit Rosset serve just inside the lit Rosset, who has an impress record against the world's top players, levelled immediately, breaking Rusedski's serve for

the first and only time. An early break of the Rossel serve in the fourth set and five successive games gave Ruseds a clear sight of the title. There was a crisis in the fourth game when he slumped to 0-40; but

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Rugby Union Five Nations Championship: England 60 Wales 26

Nations Championship.

game against Ireland.

that goes with winning before they embark on a demanding summer

tour to Australia, New Zealand and

South Africa, which includes four

Tests. They finish with a home

If Woodward becomes more con-

sistent in his team selection after

using 31 players since November,

then the main structure of his

World Cup side should be in place

ground after this win - I am sure

we will," said John Mitchell, the

New Zealand coach who got Eng-

land's forwards up to speed. "It was

a collective effort. We had the right

attitude and we got back to basics.

The referee Colin Hawke helped to

make it a great game of rugby by

keeping things simple. He was fan-

tastic." Hawke, also from New

Zealand, operated the advantage law

In retrospect it is hard to believe

that Wales scored two tries and led

12-6 before England began to get

their act together. When England's

response did come it was both chill-

ing and, for Wales, demoralising: a

three-try salvo within a six-minute

period, followed by a driven try by

Dallaglio on the stroke of half-time

then four second-half tries, three of

them within 16 minutes, that

stretched the lead to a remarkable

As often as not the work-hungry

Rees was the catalyst for England's

rapidly unfolding pattern of attack. He dragged bemused defenders out

of position with his searing midfield

breaks and popped up in all parts of

with notable intelligence.

"We have to keep our feet on the

by the start of next season.

England on the rampage

REG RUSEDSKI, Britain No 1, defeated Switzerland Marc Rosset 7-6, 3-6, 6-1, 6-4 Robert Armstrong at Twickenham

NE record-breaking victory may not turn a promising aide into a great one but Championship here last Sunda The world's new number 5 succeeded where Tim Henman England's astonishing eight-try rout failed at the same stage against the same opponent last year, ir ther emphasising the gulf seprating the two British players have Rusedski's sixth Tour tile.

Rusedski's sixth Tour tile.

Rusedski's dected Dataglio's side had gone soft in their traditional

side had gone soft in their traditional area of dominance, the forwards, proved wholly unfounded. This hard, swaggering England pack wins the event three times in an years. However, the Swiss, who at 6ft 7in is one of the few play office that the Triple Crown looks ers to loom above Rusedski, say has two years in which to gain the strong that the triple Crown looks ers to loom above Rusedski, say has two years in which to gain the strong that the triple Crown looks ers to loom above Rusedski, say has two years in which to gain the strong that the triple Crown looks ers to loom above Rusedski, say has the strong that the triple Crown looks ers to loom above Rusedski, say has a serving the strong that the say has the strong that the say has the say has a serving the say has

has two years in which to gain of genuine quality since the 1995 World Cup, yet they demolished Wales with the insouciance of men who have grown accustomed to causng mayhem on many battlefields. In fact, it was their first victory in

eight matches - and their first since Clive Woodward became coach - offering further proof that nternational rugby has become a kind of perverse lottery. England's @point total was the biggest Five Nations score since the champiiship began in 1910.

The instinctive freedom England isplayed as they blitzed the hapless field with a bewildering variety of

attacking ploys suggests Woodward may be succeeding in his mission to ansform the style of England ngby before next year's World Cup. dimes David Rees, Matt Perry and ustin Healey threaded their way through the Wales defence rather like Pacific Islanders on the rampage in the Hong Kong Sevens. The ulture change was awesome.

But nothing Woodward required from an England side strong in potential but weak in terms of results would have materialised without a crushing demonstration of the arts and crafts of forward play. As he admitted: "Our forwards were outstandog - people like Garath Archer and Martin Johnson enabled us to play the game we wanted to. The whole pack just wanted to get going."

Exactly what this result indicates

shout the current status of the championship is perhaps less en-couraging. All the evidence, including the Murrayfield result, points to in ever-widening gap in standards between England and France and the Celtic nations.

The entry of Italy into the competion cannot come quickly enough: fresh stimulation is urgently needed to gee up Wales, Scotland and Ire-land, who are in danger of becoming also-rans.

the field to support the ball carrier. Significantly Woodward was more Perry, too, stamped his authority tager to discuss the reasons for England's recent defeat by France than

41 points.

<u>at tigi</u>r kanggiran a d

Under Greenwood: Wales flanker Colin Charvis is helpless as England's Will-o'-the-wisp flies between the posts PHOTO: MARK LEECH

to celebrate their tour de force panache that ultimately helped to against the less-than-formidable Welsh. When England travel to Murdismantle a creaky Wales rearguard. rayfield on March 22, Scotland will be doing Five Nations rugby a major service if they manage to keep the outcome in doubt until the final 20 minutes. Another runaway England win would merely confirm the southern hemisphere nations in their view that this event has become the Two Certainly England can look for-ward to developing the confidence

It was little wonder that Woodward, who has come under critical fire for his tactics, basked in the knowledge that England had, after all, done it his way. "I just knew that we would put the losing Paris experience behind us," he said. "If you have forwards who can dominate and such talented backs, you must score tries - we had both factors. Although many of the Welsh backs have great reputations I would not swap any of our players for theirs."

Scotland 16 France 51

French crush sad Scotland

lan Malin at Murrayfield

COTLAND's pairing with Brazil in the round-ball version of the World Cup this summer may have raised many a hollow laugh. But Scotland taking on the world in the oval-ball game now looks even more preumptuous. In the last three months they have shipped 156 points in three games here gainst Australia, South Africa and now the Grand Slam champions elect. No wonder the saltires were at half-mast in Edinburgh last Sunday.

The mood at Murrayfield after this win by France, which makes the victors virtual certainties for their first back-to-back Grand Slam, was one of despair.

France looked to have more men on the pitch. "They seemed to have three or four more players than we had and, when they moved the ball wide, it was difficult to defend against them," said Scotland's Gary Armstrong France out-scored his team 7-1 on tries. Bravely as Scotland played, it could have been more.

Jim Telfer, the Scotland coach, also put on a brave show. He admitted: "We don't have a magic wand. There may be cries for some of the A team to be promoted, but in truth this was the best side we could have fielded.

"We have a tremendous strugde now because there is a limit to the numbers of quality players available. France have a highly competitive structure and a core of 150,000-200,000 players.

And this French side is playing to ita potential."

SPORT 31

The French were faster by yards, stronger in the tackle, more inventive and more imaginative; a complete team. They dazzled Scotland with their artistry. Painting the boldest strokes was the Brive flanker Olivier Magne. He showed the speed of a sprinter and the deft andling of a basketball player.

Their third try summed up his contribution and the game itself. Fabien Pelous skimmed the ball off the top of a line-out and France moved the ball wide to where Magne flung out a long pass to Philippe Bernat-Salles. In one movement the wing snatched the ball from over his head and swept outside Kenny Logan and Armstrong from Scotland's 22 to touch down.

France at last have unearthed a pair of half-backs who can allow those greybounds behind the scrum to spring from their traps. Philippe Carbonneau was imperious at scrum-half and Thomas Castaignède explosive outside him.

France weathered the early Scottish storm and by and large kept their discipline. The exceptions were when Magne received a yellow card for a late shoulder charge on Derrick Lee and Franck Tournaire appeared to kick Peter Walton in a mêlée.

They were isolated dark deeds by this luminous French side, and Ireland and Wales will surely be powerless to stop them winning a sixth Grand Slam.

Football results Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

not present.

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:
Arsanai 1, Crystal Pelace 0; Botton Wanderers
1, West Harn Utd 1; Coveniry City 1, Barnsley
0; Lefcester City 2, Chelsea 0; Evverpool 1,
Everton 1; Manchester Utd 2, Derby 0;
Newcastle Utd 1, Leeds Utd 1; Sheffeld Wed
1, Totenham 0; Southampton 3, Bladdourn

Rovers 0. Leading positions: 1, Man Utd (played 27, points 56; 2, Arsenal (25-47); 3, Liverpool (27-

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE:
Division One: Birminghm 2, Shelf Uid 0;
Bradford C 0, Oxford 0; Hudders IId 1, Wolves
0; Ipswich 5, Norwich 0; Middlesbro 3,
Sunderind 1; CIPR 0, Port Vals 1; Reading 0,
Porsmin 1; Stockport 3, Chenton 0; Stoke 1,
Notim For 1; Swindon 1, Man City 3; Tranmere
0, Crews 3; WBA 1, Bury 1.
Leading positions: 1, Middlesbrough (32-65); 2, Notim Forest (32-64); 3, Sunderland
(31-58).

Division Two: Bristol R 3, Oldhem 1; Burnley 1, Brentford 1; Chesterfd 3, Wrexham 1; Fulhem 2, Wigan 0; Giffingham 1, Carlele 0; Grimsby 2, Bournemth 1; Luton 0, Bristol City 0; Milwall 0, Northmeth 0; Preston 1, Wycombe 1; Southend 2, Blackpool 1; Walsell 0, Plymouth 1; York 1, Watford 1, Leading positions: 1, Watford (32-84); 2, Bristol City (33-82); 3, Northempton (\$3-52).

Division Three: Cardiff 0, Cambridge 0 Chaster 4, Rotherham C; Doncaster 0, Torquay
1; Exster 0, Colchester 1; Hull 2, Scithorpe 1;
Leyton 0 2, Swarissa 2; Lincoln 2, Barnet 0;
Mansfield 4, Darlington 0; Notta Co 1,
Scarboro 0, Peterboro 0, Macclesfid 1;
Rochdale 2, Brighton 0; Shrewsbry 1,
Hartiscool 0

Leading positions: 1, Notis Co (33-72); 2, Macclesfield (33-58); 3, Torquay (33-58)

Premier Divisions Catto 4, Kirnamk 0; Dunfmine 2, Dundes U 2; Hibernian 1, Rengera 2; Motherwell 2, Hearts 4; St Johnstn 0, Aberdeen 1 Leading positions: 1, Rangers (25-52); 2, Celio (25-52); 3, Hearts (25-52).

First Division: Ayr 1, Stiring A 0; Dundes 1, Archis 0; Morton 3, Resh 1; Pertick 0, Falkirk 0. Leading positions: 1, Dundes (25-50); 2, Rash (25-42); 3, Falkirk (25-42).

Second Division: Clydebank 2, Brechn 1; Forfar 1, East File 0; Sterhamr 2, Queen Sith 0; Stramar 3, Clyde 0; Invriss CT 2, 'LMngston 2, Leeding positions 1, Clydebank (24-47); 2, Lyngston (23-40); 3, Queen of Sith (24-36).

Third Division: Berwick 1, Alice 1; Cowdobin 2, Dumbarton 0; E Stiving 1, Ross Co 0; Montrose 1, Alicen 3; Queena Pk 0, Arbright 2, Leading positions: 1; Alice (23-44); 2; Arbright (24-43); 3; E Stiring (26-41).

Coach Vialli is on the fast track

G IANLUCA VIALLI, leading by dently and with Graham Thorpe added another 14 priceless runs begame as player-manager of Chelsea following the abrupt departure of Ruud Gullit, took the club to their third League Cup final when his side defeated Arsenal 3-1 in the second leg of the Coca-Cola Cup semi-

final at Stamford Bridge. The Gunners held a 2-1 advantage from the opening leg, but it was cancelled out by an early goal from Mark Hughes before two more in three minutes, from Roberto Di Matteo and Dan Petrescu early in the second half, set up Chelsea for a in Georgetown against Guyana, 4-3 aggregate victory. Dennis which ended in a draw.

Bergkamp replied with a late England A's winter tour mean-

The rugged, rumbustious tie brought nine yellow cards and one ed - Patrick Vielra's sending-off left Arsène Wenger's team considerably weakened — from referee Graham Poll. In the final on March 29, Chelsea's opponents at Wembley will be Middlesbrough, whom they defeated in the final of the FA Cup last season. Bryan Robson's side secutive year by beating Liverpool

2-0 on the night and 3-2 on aggregate. Two goals in a startling first three minutes, from Paul Merson and Middlesbrough's latest import Marco Branca, ultimately proved to be enough for them to win the tie.

NGLAND scored the 38 runs they needed to win the nerveracking third Test by three wickets against the West Indies in Trinidad - the same margin with which they had lost the second on a nearby pitch. The final day's play was failure to build on last season's suc-

fore Thorpe fell to Curtly Ambrose. Jack Russell and Andy Caddick were dismissed in successive balls, leaving seven required at the lunch

Butcher and Dean Headley kept their cool to reach the 225 target, levelling the series 1-1 with three Tests to play. Angus Fraser's bowling earned him the Man of the Match award.

Mike Atherton's men followed up their Test victory with a tour match

while ended on a disappointing note when, already down 2-0 in the oneday series to Sri Lanka A, they lost the final game by 41 runs in Matara. However, Nick Knight's team can take some comfort from the fact that they won the unofficial Test series 2-0.

COLOURFUL ceremony followed by a spectacular fireworks display brought the Winter Olympics to a close in Nagano, Japan. Germany topped the medals' table with 29, including 12 golds, closely followed by Norway, who picked up 25 medals. At the other end of the scale were Australia, Belglum and Great Britain, with one bronze each.

BOB DWYER was sacked as Leicester's director of rugby. He was shown the door through a combination of player power and a top of the table — a big enough mar-

Cup final. The Australian, appointed in 1996, is replaced by former club captain and England No 8 Dean

THE former Scotland international footballer, Lou Macari, faces financial ruin after losing a legal battle against Celtic over a claim that he was unfairly dismissed as manager. Macari accused Cellic of breach of contract when it sacked him without notice in June 1994, and sought \$700,000 damages. The 48-year-old Scot now faces a \$800,000 legal bill.

EN TYRRELL quit the Formula One racing team he founded in 1960 after a clash with British American Racing, which purchased the company for \$30 million three months ago. BAR's decision to sign the Brazilian driver Ricardo Rosset in preference to Tyrrell's nominee. Jos Verstappen, was cited as the rea-

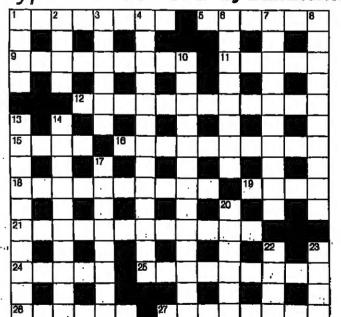
son behind the split The future of the Belgian Grand Prix, threatened by restrictions on tobacco sponsorship, was secured after the Walloon regional parliament agreed to unrestricted sponsorship of world-level sporting and cultural events.

THE 6,670-mile leg of the Whit-bread Round The World Race, from Auckland to São Sebastião, was won by EF Language, skippered by Paul Cayard. The victory puts Cayard almost 100 points clear at the delayed by 40 minutes because of cess when the club won the Pilking-rain. Mark Butcher played confidence in the confidence in the remaining legs and the confidence in the remaining legs and the remaining legs are remaining legs a

he lost to Goran Ivanisevic, at both men were anxious to gain

his own competitive edge by reinevitable first-set tie-break in when he returned what

Cryptic crossword by Bunthorne



Across

Fall from grace so couldn't be countenanced (4,4) See 12

Curlous Issue of a vehicle for Fanny Brice (5,4) 1 Long and thick, hitting Indian

heads with this (5) 2, 3, 5 Intelligent life found by CID: judge there's only one left in this welrd phenomenon (12,6,6) Photograph of the Unknown

Soldier unknown (1-3) 16 Via indigenous spaghetti Junctions here? (10) 18 Death for canal creation (3-7)

19 Bloody fool (4) 21 August month our idée fixel (4-8)
24 Italian revolutionary made name

with nine others (5) 25 Cut between Beaune or Nults?

26 Turning on old silk; a year's hard labour down under (6) 27 Fancy a bit of an Israeli melon? This smells of almonds! (8)

1,13 lifeel groggy, sounding cross and oddly peccant, Why? Tell mel How long have I got? (4-10)

2,22 Confess one had lied at this get-together (8)

4 Church guild members put on one hop in aid of youth (5.8)

6 One threw offensive material (Get this!) into Welsh Water (8) 7 Old Church involved in tribal warfare: Is it worth selvation?

8 Not a principal Llb-Dem? (5,5) 10 One's field contour finely

balanced (4,2,7) 13 See 1 down 14 Unbridled pence and income distribution (10)

17 Distress the king in a seat at Versalles (8) 20 Boring banker? (6)

23 Vocal entertainer in the wings!

Last week's solution

FIRMDECISION
FASAMESONTOP
LOBELIA THEREOF
YER LODT REAL
NITIAL ANIMALS
NICEEO CLEVEREST
SECRETARION CHEST
SECRETARION CREASES CARRACK
E PER PHSOLEI
ROOSTER BOHELON
FOREIGNPARTS

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